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Early Modern Religious Communities in East-Central Europe

Ethnic Diversity, Denominational Plurality, and Corporative Politics in the Principality of Transylvania (1526-1691)

István Keul

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BRILL

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By

István Keul

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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

In memory of my grandfathers:
Szávuly István (1920–1986)
Johann Keul (1909–1978)

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PREFACE

In view of the cultural diversity that has characterized Transylvania for many centuries, any attempt at a comprehensive treatment of the region presents a real challenge. This applies to early modern Transylvania probably more than to any other epoch in the region's history, and yet the period and perspective chosen for this volume are easy to explain: The intense dynamics of the overlapping political, ethnic, and denominational constellations in post-Reformation Transylvania represent one of the most attractive and rewarding topics imaginable.

The beginnings of my considering to undertake such a study were serendipitous. Not geographically, for the region had been the home of my childhood and youth, and continues to be one of the places I think of as home. The fortunate coincidence lay rather in the combination of academic discipline, research topic, and moment in time when the idea of starting this project surfaced. It happened about eight years ago, when I was looking for a subject for post-doctoral research, and my teachers in Tübingen encouraged me to dive into a new field. However, after an initial moment of enthusiasm and the subsequent (cathartic) disenchantment, the project disappeared for a while into a drawer. That the idea eventually turned into a book after all is not thanks to any spectacular resurrection, but rather to a step-by-step (and initially rather inadvertent) reanimation: In the classroom and at conferences its components gradually proliferated, generated their own dynamics, and eventually coalesced into a manuscript. In the fall of 2006, the work was accepted by the Department of History and Cultural Studies at the Berlin Freie Universität as partial fulfilment of the requirements for the *venia legendi* in Religionswissenschaft.

The Institute for the Study of Religions at the FU Berlin has been my academic home since 2001. Working there I have enjoyed the continuous and unwavering support of Hartmut Zinser, who has given me great latitude in pursuing my interests in teaching and research, at the same time providing invaluable advice and guidance whenever I needed it, which he has done for this project as well. During this time my past and present colleagues shared with me the inspiring and creative atmosphere at our institute. The interaction with my students in several courses on

the religious traditions of Europe was instrumental both in discussing established perspectives and in opening up new ones.

A number of teachers and colleagues helped in various phases of the project. Among them I would single out, for the early stages, Günter Kehrer, Edit Szegedi, and Harald Roth, and for later and crucial assistance, Renate Schlesier. I am grateful to John Minderhout for preparing a swift and skillful translation that I have altered probably much too often, to Kjell Helge Sjøstrøm for drawing the maps, and to the Siebenbürgisches Museum and the Siebenbürgen-Institut in Gundelsheim for providing the illustrations. I also should thank the editors of the *Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions* for including this volume in the series. Two anonymous reviewers have provided useful directions for the improvement of the text. For financial support in preparing the manuscript for publication I thank the Ernst Reuter Society. And finally, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to the person without whom none of this would have been possible: I thank Rita for loving me the way she does.

Bergen (Norway), June 2008

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PROLOGUE

Anyone interested in church history would have to wonder at some of the entries in a chronicle initially recorded on the wall of the parish church in Kronstadt.[1] For instance, for the year 1542 this chronicle (written sometime between 1571 and 1585)[2] mentions a severe plague of locusts, but omits another event of unprecedented and far-reaching import for the cultural history not only of the town, but of the entire region: the Reformation. At first glance this appears quite remarkable, for other (contemporary as well as later) Transylvanian-Saxon chroniclers do include in their texts the Reformation-related events of that year in varying levels of detail: The organist Hieronymus Ostermayer (d. 1561), for example, also of Kronstadt, reports in his chronicle on the initial moments of the Reformation and the main actors involved.[3] Of course, as an avowed sympathizer and assiduous exegete of the movement for religious renewal, which he saw as significant for salvation history

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[1] The text, written in Latin, is known by the title *Brevis Chronicon Daciae* or *Annales Templi Coronensis*. See Oskar Netoliczka, "Breve Chronicon Daciae," in *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt*, vol. 4 (Kronstadt, 1903), IV. Netoliczka describes the work as a "monument of the past" that "in the literal sense looked down from the heights onto following generations" (In: ibid., XIV). The original was painted over during renovations after the fire of 1689, but the text had been copied and was often re-copied and printed. The historiography of the Transylvanian Saxons has been extensively researched by Edit Szegedi, on whose analysis I rely in this paragraph. Her book is called *Geschichtsbewusstsein und Gruppenidentität. Die Historiographie der Siebenbürger Sachsen zwischen Barock und Aufklärung* (Cologne, 2002), and the chapter on the Kronstadt mural chronicle may be found on pages 161–166.

[2] While Netoliczka suggests a date before 1571, Nussbächer argues convincingly for the period 1571–1585, and tentatively names Martin Oltard as the likely author, in: Gernot Nussbächer, "Wer war der Verfasser der Wandchronik? Eine wissenschaftliche Diskussion von zwei Jahrhunderten wieder aktuell," *Karpatenrundschau*, January 16 (1976), 6.

[3] "Eodem anno (1542). In the month of October we began to hold Lutheran mass in the Cron church, and we abolished the Papist one, for the honor of God and his holy name. Amen. Furthermore H. Johannes Fux, through that most enlightened and very learned man, M. Johannes Honterus, instituted the Reformation of the churches in the Burzenland and promulgated the same in print. This sorely displeases the Queen and the honorable Treasurer, Brother Georg, as will be seen. May however God the Almighty, despite all rage and fury, through his grace keep this newly kindled true light with us and with our children and let it shine for us in eternity. Amen." From: "Chronik des Hieronymus Ostermeyer," in Joseph Kemény (ed.), *Deutsche Fundgruben der Geschichte Siebenbürgens*, vol. 1 (Klausenburg, 1839), 27f.

and followed with great interest, Ostermayer was not totally unbiased. Among other things, he has also provided posterity with a description of the removal of images from the parish church, and he wrote an obituary upon the death of the reformer Honterus. As for the chronicle in the Kronstadt church, the unknown author most likely based it on Thomas Bomel's *Chronologia Rerum Ungaricarum*.[4] Published in Kronstadt in 1556, Bomel's chronology focuses almost exclusively on supraregional political and military events between 336 (the advent of the Huns in Europe) and 1553 (the year of the plague in Pannonia and elsewhere). He refers only marginally to matters significant for the religious history of the region, but he does mention the reformers Mátyás Dévai Bíró (1541, *doctrina pietateque clarus*) and Johannes Honterus (1549, *omni genere doct. […] probitate clarus […] Transylvania moritur*). From all this the author of the wall chronicle lifted the events relating directly to the history of Transylvania and the neighboring regions, adding information on Kronstadt and its surroundings. In this way, local church history is recorded as well, as for example, the construction of the pastoral church itself (started in 1383/85) and Sigismund's order to build the abbey at Kerz (1427). Yet, as already mentioned, the chronicler omits the Reformation, which had occurred only a couple of decades before the text was inscribed onto the wall and for which this church had been a significant setting.

For a historian, the omission is perplexing and seems to cry out for historical and political contextualization. In a recent work on the history of Transylvanian-Saxon historiography that is persuasive in its methodological clarity and wealth of detailed information, Edit Szegedi has probed the limits of plausibility by pointing to the transformed political situation in which the leaders of the *natio Saxonica*, one of the three estates in the Principality of Transylvania, found themselves after 1571. The abandonment of the Transylvanian-Saxon leaders' openly pro-Habsburg position and their decision to support the elected (and Ottoman-backed) ruler, István Báthori (a Catholic), were certainly not without consequences for the Transylvanian-Saxon historiography of the time. According to Szegedi, the events selected for the Kronstadt church wall chronicle reflect "the changes that took place in the minds

[4] Thomas Bomel, *Chronologia Rerum Ungaricarum a primo Unnorum in Pannoniam adventu, ad millesimum quingentesimum quinquagesimum Sextum a Nato Christo, per […] Coronensem collecta & inclito Senatui Coronensi dicata* (Coronae MDLVI).

and in the political stance of the Saxon elites."[5] Nevertheless, it remains arguable whether this explains conclusively why a crucial event with such far-reaching consequences for Transylvanian cultural history should be omitted from contemporary records in a place that is central to the Transylvanian Reformation, especially since, in 1571, the year Báthori ascended the throne, three Protestant churches (the Lutheran, the Calvinist, and the Antitrinitarian) were already legally acknowledged and active in the Principality.

These arguments have fundamental implications for the course of the present work. Here at the outset, however, it is important to stress that the author of the chronicle and its intended readers were part of a *particular stratum* (the Transylvanian-Saxon elite) of Transylvania's *multi-ethnic* and *multi-denominational* society. This awareness will sharpen the eye for the manifold and shifting, class- and time-specific relevance of the social processes at work in early modern Transylvania, which I will attempt to outline in the following pages.

[5] Szegedi, *Geschichtsbewusstsein und Gruppenidentität, 166.*

CHAPTER ONE

FRAMEWORKS

"European History of Religions" and "History of Religions in Europe"

For quite a long time the religious landscape of Europe was rarely a topic of research within the academic discipline of religious studies (Religionswissenschaft).[1] How unusual (and almost unseemly) it was, for instance, in the first decades of the 20th century to produce a historical work on European religions from a perspective other than that of church history, is shown by the almost exculpatory tone taken by Carl Clemen in the introduction to the second volume of his *Religionsgeschichte Europas*, where he felt obliged to emphasize the unique treatment of Judaism and Christianity by a historian of religions.[2] Forty years later (1971), in defining the purview of the discipline, Günther Lanczkowski once again adopted the theological and missiological perspective; he limited the competence of the historian of religions to non-European regions and to the European pre-Christian period, relegating everything

[1] Cf. to this section Burkhard Gladigow, "Europäische Religionsgeschichte," in Hans Kippenberg and Brigitte Luchesi (eds.), *Lokale Religionsgeschichte* (Marburg, 1995), 21–42; Burkhard Gladigow, "Mediterrane Religionsgeschichte, Römische Religionsgeschichte, Europäische Religionsgeschichte. Zur Genese eines Fachkonzepts," in Herman F. J. Horstmanshoff et al. (eds.), *Kykeon. Studies in Honour of H. S. Versnel* (Leiden, 2002), 49–67; Christoph Auffarth, "Europäische Religionsgeschichte," in Christoph Auffarth, Jutta Bernhard and Hubert Mohr (eds.), *Metzler Lexikon Religion*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart, 1999), 330–336; Andreas Gotzmann, Vasilios N. Makrides, Jamal Malik, and Jörg Rüpke, *Pluralismus in der Europäischen Religionsgeschichte* (Marburg, 2001).

[2] In the second volume of his history of European religions Carl Clemen deals with the religions still practiced in Europe. Besides Judaism and Lamaism (!), Christianity and Islam are the central topics of this volume. To concern himself as a historian of religion with the latter two religions seems to have necessitated further explanation, "because he [that is, the historian of religions] is not usually presented with this task." In: Carl Clemen, *Religionsgeschichte Europas. Die noch bestehenden Religionen* (Heidelberg, 1931), v. And Friedrich Heiler wrote in the foreword to the 1958 edition of his *Die Religionen der Menschheit*: "The individual sections are all written by scholars whose actual area of expertise is Religious Studies [Religionswissenschaft] […]. In contrast to other books on the subject, Jewish and Christian religions are included here." In: Friedrich Heiler, *Die Religionen der Menschheit in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, 2d ed. (Stuttgart, 1962), 4.

else to a subdiscipline of theology, namely church history.[3] It took another ten years to allow a certain degree of permeability and flexibility on the—until then—rather rigid disciplinary borderlines: In 1981, the theologian Peter Meinhold subsumed church history under the general history of religions (allgemeine Religionsgeschichte).[4] Then, in the mid-1990s, a decisive impulse for reorienting the study of European religious history came from Tübingen. In a programmatic essay, the historian of religions Burkhard Gladigow outlined a conception of a "European history of religions" (Europäische Religionsgeschichte) that opened new perspectives for the academic study of religions. Gladigow distinguished himself fundamentally from Clemen and Lanczkowski by declaring Europe a legitimate area of research for modern religious studies, and by stressing that the intention was not at all a mere additive juxtaposition of the "positive," institutionally established religions (that is, a "history of religions in Europe," Religionsgeschichte Europas), but much rather the study of the total spectrum of coexisting, variously organized (including informal) patterns of religious orientation in this geographic-historical-cultural region.[5]

Many instances may be adduced from the religious history of the continent to justify this approach. A glance at the polytheistic Mediterranean basin in late antiquity reveals a broad spectrum of religious alternatives as the norm, especially in urban contexts, with their high degree of social differentiation. This wide range of—often individual—options, typical for (already multilayered) polytheistic systems, was further complicated by the formation of religious groups that had rules of incompatibility and deligitimization strategies, which they directed against alternative models.[6] Plurality, diversity, pluralism, and complexity have characterized European religious history from the earliest times down to today. In the course of the centuries the monotheistic religions Judaism, Christianity, and Islam found their way to Europe and

[3] Günter Lanczkowski, *Religionsgeschichte Europas* (Freiburg, 1971), 24.

[4] Peter Meinhold, *Die Begegnung der Religionen und die Geistesgeschichte Europas* (Wiesbaden, 1981), 6.

[5] Gladigow, "Europäische Religionsgeschichte," 24.

[6] "The semantics of exclusion results thereby not in the concept of one's own religion as opposed to the religion of the other, but in reference to practices and cults, including a retroactive limitation of internal differentiation." In: Jörg Rüpke, "Polytheismus und Pluralismus," in Gotzmann, *Pluralismus in der Europäischen Religionsgeschichte*, 17–34, here 25.

joined the already existing Greek, Roman, ethnic, and other religions.[7] In addition to this external diversity and the mutual perception of the old and new religions, another dimension emerges and becomes the rule in Europe, especially since the early modern period: an "internal diversity," in which multiple religious communities, often issuing from the same roots, coexist in the same geographical space.

The present work addresses such a clearly delineated geographical, political, and cultural space in the early modern era. It aims to add to the shelf of books on European history of religions a volume on East-Central Europe, portraying the emergence and development of various religious communities in 16th- and 17th-century Transylvania. The exact time frame of the study is delimited by two political events: It begins with the Battle of Mohács in 1526, which brought about the end of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary in its old form and the beginning of an extended development leading finally to Transylvania becoming a state. The time frame is bound on the other end by the Transylvanian Principality's loss of autonomy and, to a large extent, of its status under international law, through the ratification of the Hermannstadt Declaration of 1688 and the issuance of the Leopoldine Diploma in the year 1691. The focus of the book, which is conceived primarily as a narrative history, is less on theological history and more on the social and political history of both institutionalized and informal religious movements.[8] Particular attention will be paid to the Reformation-related processes and the attendant denominational formation. Rather than describe religious norms from the perspective of church history, the aim is to depict the region's historically developed religious orientations.

[7] Cf. Hans Gerhard Kippenberg and Kocku von Stuckrad, *Einführung in die Religionswissenschaft* (Munich, 2003), 126–135.

[8] However, in the absence of informative testimonials to private devotion, or of conclusive statistical evidence concerning the (strongly fluctuating) sizes of the individual religious communities, their parishes, or their clergy for parts of the areas and of the time frame covered here, some limitations to the socio-historical perspectives treated in this work are unfortunately unavoidable. That the writing of religious history should, ideally, always take due account of social, political, and economic contexts remains beyond question.

Plurality and Pluralism

The Principality of Transylvania (1529/41–1691), a rather small state with shifting boundaries and relative political autonomy, offers a rewarding domain for the application of discourses related to plurality and pluralism. Already before the Reformation the region was characterized by varying levels of corporative, ethnic, and religious plurality, whose interplay acquired increasingly complex forms during the early modern era. A description and analysis of such post-Reformation processes of interaction and differentiation will be the objective of a major portion of this study. Religious groups not only share the same space at the same time; very often they also operate in the same social and cultural milieu. As social entities they are confronted with the same problems: the need to establish interpretive categories and draw boundaries. A whole series of questions arise from this constellation: How do internal and external demarcations take shape? What mechanisms are being developed for the identification of heretics and deviators? What rules and criteria do religious communities provide for the coexistence of rival communities? Finally, to what extent do the various religious communities reflect the pluralistic situation they are involved in?[9]

It will also be necessary to determine whether it is indeed possible to speak of a religious/denominational pluralism for the region and period under study. The most encompassing of the many levels of distinction implied by this concept will be touched upon only marginally here: In his *Die neue Unübersichtlichkeit* (Frankfurt am Main, 1985), Jürgen Habermas discusses the issue of "cultural pluralism" in human society and refers to the interaction of a large number of partial societal systems (economy, politics, legal system, religious institutions, etc.). A characteristic of pluralistic societies, according to Habermas, is the resistance of all these systems to hierarchical ordering, even if their proponents ascribe superior importance to their own respective systems. These generally pluralistic aspects of 16th- and 17th-century Transylvanian society will not be explicitly thematized in the following pages. Instead the emphasis will be on the actions and reciprocal perceptions of the

[9] Kippenberg, *Einführung in die Religionswissenschaft*, 132. For much more on this and other questions relating to this topic see the proposal and discussion transcript for a project forwarded several years ago to the German Research Council (DFG) with the title "Religiöser Pluralismus in Europa" (Ms., 1999), from which several of the issues discussed here and in the following pages have been adopted.

various religious groups, under the heading "religious pluralism."[10] In addition to presenting the formation of religious groups (their origination, development and main proponents), the present work aims at exploring the extent to which the competing systems of orientation took active notice of each other, as well as the ramifications of these perceptions. How intensive were the sidelong glances at the others and the encounters—and confrontations—with them? Did the groups' positions with respect to each other vary with time and place, ranging between indifference and sustained interest? The goal is to discuss both an empirically given denominational plurality in the Transylvanian Principality and to trace the patterns of religious alternatives as they were perceived within the denominational groupings that constitute the religious field. Particular attention will be paid to internal pluralisms that evolve over the varying periods of denominational differentiation within the main movements. Intradenominational dissociation and negotiation processes are in evidence in the region, especially in the early phases of denominational consolidation, for example in the well-documented cases of crypto-Calvinism among the Lutherans and of nonadorationism in the Antitrinitarian movement.

The inclusion of pluralism-related issues and perspectives has implications for this study in terms of method, form, and content; multiple narrative tracks and the departure from any singularly oriented (and narrated) religious history are certainly among the most important consequences. The book is decidedly *not* woven according to the pattern of church-historical master narratives that present their own traditions as central or "true" and more or less triumphant, rather it sees itself as attempting to treat the religious history of an entire region—over a limited time period—in a differentiated, pluralistic, polyfocal way.

There is another aspect to favoring the plural perspective over the singular. In view of the high degree of denominational flexibility evinced by some of the main actors in the Transylvanian Reformation (e.g., the ruler János II Zsigmond Szapolyai, or the Protestant church leader Ferenc Dávid), it makes little sense to speak of their "religious/denominational identity" either in the singular or as a unity. In early

[10] For a narrower definition of "religious pluralism" see Gerhard Lenski, "Religious Pluralism in Theoretical Perspective," *Internationales Jahrbuch für Religionssoziologie* 1 (1965), 25–42. Recent empirical and analytical perspectives in: Martin Baumann and Samuel M. Behloul (eds.), *Religiöser Pluralismus. Empirische Studien und analytische Perspektiven* (Bielefeld, 2005).

modern Transylvania, as in other times and places, religious semantics are tested in parallel ways, shifted toward each other, overlapped or even tried out successively, and then either appropriated or discarded. In the course of such processes "identity" becomes "identities" with the salutary effect that the components joined in the conceptual framework become more flexible and viable. The seemingly existential ballast often implied by the singular (e.g., the "broken identity") is shed, and with it both the pressure to analyze conversion situations minutely, and the emphasis on individual religious coherence.

Denominational Formation and Confessionalization

The last 50 years have seen numerous contributions to the study of early modern denominational formation. These works have made "denomination" one of the basic categories of contemporary scholarship on the early modern period, and "confessionalization" is now seen as a fundamental historical process that distinguishes the early modern era from other historical epochs.[11]

The scope of denominational formation and confessionalization (as socio-historical paradigms) varies depending on the application. When confessionalization was linked with the theory of the development of early modern statehood and Gerhard Oestreichs theory of social disciplining, it acquired the status of a key concept that extends far beyond mere denominational consolidation and the construction of collective identities.[12] The theoretical development of the historical paradigm

[11] Helga Schnabel-Schüle, "Vierzig Jahre Konfessionalisierungsforschung—eine Standortbestimmung," in Olaf Blaschke (ed.), *Konfessionen im Konflikt. Deutschland zwischen 1800 und 1970: ein zweites konfessionelles Zeitalter* (Göttingen, 2002), 71–93, here 71f. For a selection of the most important recent contributions to the research on confessionalization see note 2 in the same work.

[12] Already in 1958 Ernst Walter Zeeden published an influential essay that defined denominational formation as "the spiritual/intellectual and organizational consolidation of the different Christian denominations which had been drifting apart since the schism of faiths into a halfway stable churchly sphere according to dogma, constitution, and religious-moral life form." In: Ernst Walter Zeeden, "Grundlagen und Wege der Konfessionsbildung im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe," *Historische Zeitschrift* 185 (1958), 69. Zeeden points for the first time to the particular composition of the major post-Reformation religious groupings, which differ from the medieval church in their clearer theoretical foundations and stricter monitoring of their members, and goes into the extensive structural and even temporal parallelism of these "confessions." In a later, longer work he cites "the formative influence of extra-church forces, in

"confessionalization" took place in the 1970s and -80s, primarily with application to early modern historical processes in Western and Central Europe. Only relatively late did researchers consider whether the model might have explanatory power for East-Central European societies as well. Not until 1999 did the first results of research into confessionalization processes in East-Central Europe appear, together with considerations of the basic applicability of the paradigm to the region. The publication of the proceedings of a conference on Transylvania followed in 2005.[13]

The question of whether the confessionalization model, which has now been differentiated and refined in many respects, can in principle be transferred to East-Central Europe is still far from being adequately answered. Among the hardly surprising findings of the historians participating in the debate is the lack of uniformity among the individual processes of East-Central European denominational formation.[14] To be sure, there are common aspects, as for example the often central role of

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particular of state power" on denominational formation. In: Ernst Walter Zeeden, *Die Entstehung der Konfessionen. Grundlagen und Formen der Konfessionsbildung im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe* (Munich, 1965), 9f. See also Wolfgang Reinhard. "Was ist katholische Konfessionalisierung?" in Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling (eds.), *Die katholische Konfessionalisierung* (Münster, 1995), 419–452, esp. 421f. Thirty years later, Heinz Schilling describes "confessionalization" as "a fundamental social process that produced profound transformations in the public and private life of Europe and was enmeshed—whether moving in the same or opposite direction—with the development of the early modern state and the formation of a modern disciplined society of subjects which, in contrast to medieval society, was not fragmented at the personal level but rather was organized into institutions and territories." In: Heinz Schilling, "Die Konfessionalisierung im Reich. Religiöser und gesellschaftlicher Wandel in Deutschland zwischen 1555 und 1620," *Historische Zeitschrift* 246 (1988), 1–45, here 6.

[13] Joachim Bahlcke and Arno Strohmeyer (eds.), *Konfessionalisierung in Ostmitteleuropa. Wirkungen des religiösen Wandels im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert in Staat, Gesellschaft und Kultur* (Stuttgart, 1999). In addition to theoretical contributions this collection contains a series of essays that treat historical material from Poland-Lithuania, Bohemia, Moravia, Austria, Croatia, and Hungary. Of particular importance for the present study is the contribution by Krista Zach, "Stände, Grundherrschaft und Konfessionalisierung in Siebenbürgen. Überlegungen zur Sozialdisziplinierung (1550–1650)" on pages 367–391, in which the significance of the paradigm for the developments in Transylvania is explored in some depth. A further essay on this topic followed in a recent collection: "Politische Ursachen und Motive der Konfessionalisierung in Siebenbürgen," in Krista Zach, *Konfessionelle Pluralität, Stände und Nation. Ausgewählte Abhandlungen zur südosteuropäischen Religions- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, edited by Joachim Bahlcke and Konrad Gündisch (Münster, 2004), 71–82. The article was reprinted in Volker Leppin and Ulrich A. Wien (eds.), *Konfessionsbildung und Konfessionskultur in Siebenbürgen in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Stuttgart, 2005), 57–70.

[14] Cf. on this point Michael G. Müller, "Diskussionsbilanz," in: Bahlcke, *Konfessionalisierung in Ostmitteleuropa*, 413–418, here 417.

the nobility, but overall it may be said that confessionalization, social disciplining, and early modern state formation ran their course with varying intensity and different focal points in the various countries. Before attempting to determine with some degree of certainty whether East-Central Europe belongs to "denominational" Europe (konfessionelles Europa),[15] and before developing convincing macro-historical interpretive models for the confessionalization processes in the region, we must elucidate adequately the regional and local development phases, the actors involved and the—individual and group—motivations. The present work seeks to contribute to laying this groundwork at the micro- and meso-contextual level of East-Central European confessionalization processes, in that it holds the magnifying glass to a historically and politically well-defined region.

The analysis attempted here includes those features discussed in the literature on confessionalization that inform the basic assumptions about denominational differentiation processes in Western Europe. These features include the proximity of the church to the early modern state regarding organizational structure and personnel;[16] the intensified activity in the area of the so-called *res mixtae*; the development of instruments for the promulgation, control and monitoring of Christian modes of thinking and behavior; the formation of an early modern clergy (professionalization); and the participation of the laity in the administration of the churches.[17] Further aspects include the sacraliza-

[15] That is, does the central import of the confessionalization paradigm apply also to this historical region? Is the development of the denominations of central importance for the process of political and social modernization in East-Central Europe as well? "[T]he organizational consolidation of the church with respect to denominations [functions] as model for further formative processes in the political and social spheres." In Heinz Schilling, "Konfessionelles Europa. Die Konfessionalisierung der europäischen Länder seit Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts und ihre Folgen für Kirche, Staat, Gesellschaft und Kultur," in Bahlcke, *Konfessionalisierung in Ostmitteleuropa*, 13–62, here 16.

[16] The Protestant state churches of Scandinavia and England and the urban and country churches of the German territories of the Holy Roman Empire have served confessionalization theorists as privileged examples of the close relationship between church and state. By uniting state leadership and the position of (*summus*) *episcopus* in one person clerics attain the status of state bureaucrats. Princes receive the title of *summus episcopus* or that of *praecipium membrum ecclesiae* and are the legal successors of bishops so that clerical jurisdiction and church law become their responsibility. Cf. Heinrich R. Schmidt, *Konfessionalisierung im 16. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1992), 57. The closeness of church apparatus and the administration of the early modern state is illustrated with particular clarity by the Church's consistories in the German territorial states.

[17] Cf. to this paragraph Schilling, "Konfessionelles Europa," 27f.

tion of state power, with all the resulting consequences for politics and constitutional law; the question of the state's appropriation of church institutions in the implementation of measures of equal interest to church and state;[18] and finally, the question of social disciplining[19] and the contribution of the denominational churches to the formation of a homogeneous body of subjects in which the individual feels committed to an ethically and politically consistent system of norms. In this connection it will also be necessary to attend to the influence of confessionalization on older elements of folk religiosity:[20] The church disdains, combats (with varying degrees of success), or tolerates and eventually integrates into its own teaching various "magical", "animistic," and "pagan" notions with respect to natural events, rites of passage, and folk medicine. Clearly, from the perspective of confessionalization theory, the region prompts a series of leading questions, some of which will be addressed in this study: What did the politically enabled sphere of action for denominational formation look like? Is there a connection between the formations of denominations and the development

[18] For example the fundamental importance of birth and death rolls for state policies on population as well as the important function of collecting and transmitting information, which in smaller settlements was performed—often exclusively—by Protestant ministers and Catholic priests.

[19] Scholars of confessionalization (especially Heinz Schilling and Wolfgang Reinhard) blend Gerhard Oestreich's social discipline (Sozialdisziplinierung) model with confessionalization theory and see confessionalization as an essential factor in the promotion of social disciplining, defined as restraint in all spheres of public and private life. See Gerhard Oestreich, "Strukturprobleme des europäischen Absolutismus," in his *Geist und Gestalt des frühmodernen Staates. Ausgewählte Aufsätze* (Berlin, 1969), 179–197; Winfried Schulze, "Gerhard Oestreichs Begriff 'Sozialdisziplinierung in der Frühen Neuzeit'," *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 14 (1987), 265–302. Ernst Walter Zeeden had already defined social disciplining (albeit without using the term) as the "*leitmotiv* of all three denominations" (Schmidt, *Konfessionalisierung*, 94): "With regard to the population the efforts of church and state ran more or less in the same direction. One authority supported the other. Each raised its subjects to show due respect to the other. […] For both of them understood themselves as divinely ordained authorities, who were to use their respective means to fulfill the same mandate: to honor God and to produce and maintain order, morals, welfare, and justice on earth." In: Ernst Walter Zeeden, *Das Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe 1555–1648* (Stuttgart, 1970), 178.

[20] See for example Marc Venard, "Volksfrömmigkeit und Konfessionalisierung," in Reinhard, *Die katholische Konfessionalisierung*, 258–270; Jean Delumeau, *Le catholicisme entre Luther et Voltaire* (Paris, 1971), 276. While one side assumes the persistence of a "pagan mentality," the other postulates the "Christianization of society" as the positive result of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. See for example Richard van Dülmen, *Die Entstehung des frühneuzeitlichen Europa 1550–1648* (Frankfurt/M., 1982), 158, 254, 257; Harm Klueting, *Das Konfessionelle Zeitalter 1525–1648* (Stuttgart, 1989), 19. Cf. Schmidt, *Konfessionalisierung*, 96f.

of an early modern state in Transylvania? According to what criteria did confessionalization take place in the estate territories: along class lines or according to linguistic criteria? Finally, what kind of social disciplining measures were prevalent?

A Glance at the Literature on Transylvanian Religious History

Only in recent years have the historical regions East-Central and Southeastern Europe emerged more conspicuously in the landscape of Religionswissenschaft.[21] In light of this fact it may come as no surprise that a comprehensive scholarly work on the religious history of Transylvania from a religious-studies perspective is yet to be written. It is however somewhat surprising that scholars of Eastern-European history or church history have not produced a comprehensive work on the denominational history of this region. According to Krista Zach—to whose influential works, with their concise syntheses and detailed in-depth analyses of specific issues relating to Transylvania, the present study is deeply indebted—a possible reason for this lack lies in the difficulties resulting from the "various patterns of denominational, ethnic, and linguistic group formation, mixing, and differentiation […, which] arose in the course of a regional history of a thousand years."[22]

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[21] Some of the works and conferences to be cited in this connection: an edition of the *Zeitschrift für Religionswissenschaft* (10, 2002); a series of individual presentations and a panel at the 2003 conference of the German Association of the History of Religions (DVRG) in Erfurt (with the proceedings being published in Vasilios N. Makrides (ed.), *Religion, Staat und Konfliktkonstellationen im orthodoxen Ost- und Südeuropa. Vergleichende Perspektiven* (Frankfurt am Main, 2005); an international conference at the Institute for the Study of Religions, Berlin Freie Universität, in January 2004 (proceedings: István Keul (ed.), *Religion, Ethnie, Nation und die Aushandlung von Identität(en). Regionale Religionsgeschichte in Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa* (Berlin, 2005); a number of presentations at several international conferences: in Tokyo 2005 (International Association for the History of Religions); Philadelphia 2005 (American Academy of Religion, with a focus on Eastern Europe); Bucharest 2006 (European Association for the History of Religions, with several panels organized under the auspices of the Research Network for the European History of Religions (NEUR).

[22] "They [that is, the patterns] alone already make an overview more difficult, and are probably the main reason that a general history of the religions and denominations in Transylvania […] is lacking. Such a work would require an interdisciplinary approach and extreme circumspection in evaluating the often contradictory sources—it remains, however, a desideratum." In: Krista Zach, "Anmerkungen zur Konfessions- und Religionsgeschichte Siebenbürgens," *Siebenbürgische Semesterblätter* 12/1–2 (1998), 19. Reprinted in: Zach, *Konfessionelle Pluralität, Stände und Nation*, 151–171. Both here and in a previous synopsis ("Zur Geschichte der Konfessionen in Siebenbürgen im 16.–18.

In most historical studies of the larger political formations in the area that included the region, the multilayered processes at work in the religious history of the Principality of Transylvania have received only unsatisfactory treatment. This applies as well to the otherwise detailed works of Western authors on the history of the Habsburg Empire, in which the regional peculiarities of the Principality are very seldom explored.[23] In regional histories by Hungarian and Romanian authors before the fall of the Iron Curtain, the role of religious history is often downplayed for ideological reasons.[24] Most of these works are committed to their respective national historiographies and emphasize in varying degrees the role of one group over the others. On the other hand, newer relevant historical works strive for equidistance, but they have other thematic or geographic priorities.[25]

In a number of publications, church historians affiliated with Transylvania's institutionalized churches have presented the histories of their own denominations. This includes works on Transylvanian Lutheranism by Friedrich Teutsch and Ludwig Binder, and—focusing especially on the Reformation period—the monographs of Karl Reinerth and Erich Roth.[26] József Pokoly, Imre Révész, and László Révész produced books and articles on the Reformed (Calvinist) Church.[27] Mihály Bucsay wrote

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Jahrhundert," *Südostdeutsches Archiv* 24/25 (1981/82), 40–89), the author offers, in addition to a comprehensive survey of the state of research, numerous possible directions for further study, and bibliographic references. Cf. ibid. for this paragraph.

[23] Robert E. Kann, *Geschichte des Habsburgerreiches 1526–1918*, 2 vols. (Cologne, 1977); Jean Béranger, *Die Geschichte des Habsburgerreiches 1273–1918* (Vienna, 1995).

[24] Béla Köpeczi (gen. ed.), *Erdély története* [History of Transylvania], 3 vols. (Budapest, 1986); Carl Göllner (ed.), *Geschichte der Deutschen auf dem Gebiete Rumäniens*, vol. 1 (Bucharest, 1965); Constantin Daicoviciu and Miron Constantinescu (eds.), *Brève histoire de la Transylvanie* (Bucharest, 1965). This of course does not mean that absolutely no works on the religious history of the region were published during this time. Hungarian authors such as Antal Pirnát, Mihály Balázs, and Róbert Dán wrote—as will be seen below—valuable contributions to religious history even before 1990, often in the guise of (less suspicious) social history.

[25] Harald Roth, *Kleine Geschichte Siebenbürgens* (Cologne, 1996); Márta Fata, *Ungarn, das Reich der Stephanskrone, im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung. Multiethnizität, Land und Konfession, 1500 bis 1700* (Münster, 2000).

[26] Friedrich Teutsch, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Siebenbürgen*, 2 vols. (Hermannstadt, 1921; 1922); Ludwig Binder, *Die Kirche der Siebenbürger Sachsen* (Erlangen, 1980); Karl Reinerth, *Die Reformation der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Kirche* (Gütersloh, 1956); Karl Reinerth, *Die Gründung der evangelischen Kirchen in Siebenbürgen* (Cologne, 1979); Erich Roth, *Die Reformation in Siebenbürgen. Ihr Verhältnis zu Wittenberg und der Schweiz*, 2 vols. (Cologne, 1962–1964).

[27] József Pokoly, *Az erdélyi református egyház története* [History of the Transylvanian

historical overviews on the Hungarian Protestant churches (Lutheran, Reformed, Unitarian) that touched on Transylvania.[28] The development of the Catholic Church in Transylvania has only been covered in publications on the Church in Hungary, except for a volume from 1925.[29] There are, however, overviews on the Unitarian Church as well as on the history of the Sabbatarians in Transylvania.[30] Romanian church historians such as Ioan Lupaș, Ștefan Meteș, and Mircea Păcurariu wrote histories of the Orthodox Church in Transylvania.[31]

In addition, several works of various scope on 16th- and 17th-century Transylvania cover specific questions regarding the region's religious history. Of particular interest are Ludwig Binder's book on religious tolerance in early modern Translvania, Graeme Murdock's informed and extensive study of the Reformed Church in the 17th century, and the contributions of Mihály Balázs on the intellectual history of Transylvanian Antitrinitarianism.[32] A very limited selection of further,

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Reformed Church], (Budapest, 1904); Imre Révész, *A History of the Hungarian Reformed Church* (Washington, 1956); László Révész, "Die helvetische Reformation in Ungarn 1521–1978," *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 4 (1972), 72–100.

[28] Mihály Bucsay, *Der Protestantismus in Ungarn 1521–1978. Ungarns Reformationskirchen in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2 vols. (Cologne, 1977–1979).

[29] *Az erdélyi katholicizmus múltja és jelene* [The Past and Present of Transylvanian Catholicism] (Dicsőszentmárton, 1925); Károly Lányi, *Magyar egyháztörténelem* [Hungarian Church History], 2 vols. (Pest, 1866; 1869); János Karácsonyi, *Magyarország egyháztörténete főbb vonásaiban 900–töl 1900*–ig [The Main Features of Hungarian Church History from 900 to 1900] (Veszprém, 1906); Egyed Hermann, *A katolikus egyház története Magyarországon 1914-ig* [The History of the Catholic Church in Hungary until 1914] (Munich, 1973).

[30] In addition to church histories written in Hungarian see also Earl Morse Wilbur, *A History of Unitarianism in Transilvania, England, and America* (Cambridge, 1952); Antal Pirnát, *Die Ideologie der siebenbürgischen Antitrinitarier in den 1570er Jahren* (Budapest, 1961); Ladislaus M. Pákozdy, *Der siebenbürgische Sabbatismus. Seine Entstehung und Entwicklung vom Unitarismus zum Judentum sowie sein Untergang* (Stuttgart, 1973).

[31] Ioan Lupaș, *Istoria bisericească a românilor ardeleni* [Church History of the Transylvanian Romanians] (Sibiu, 1918); Ioan Lupaș, *Istoria bisericii și a vieții religioase a românilor din Ardeal și Ungaria* [History of the Church and of the Religious Life of the Romanians in Transylvania and Hungary], 2 vols. (Arad, 1918); Ștefan Meteș, *Istoria bisericii și a vieții religioase a românilor din Transilvania și Ungaria* [History of the Church and the Religious Life of the Romanians in Transylvania and Hungary], 2 vols., 2d ed. (Bucharest, 1935); Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria bisericii ortodoxe române* [History of the Romanian Orthodox Church], 3 vols., 2d ed. (Bucharest, 1994). The abridged German edition: Mircea Păcurariu, *Geschichte der Rumänischen Orthodoxen Kirche* (Erlangen, 1994).

[32] Ludwig Binder, *Grundlagen und Formen der Toleranz in Siebenbürgen bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne, 1976). See also Krista Zach, "Religiöse Toleranz und Stereotypenbildung in einer multikulturellen Region. Volkskirchen in Siebenbürgen,"

highly relevant works must suffice here, as numerous other studies will be discussed in the following pages: Hermann Jekeli's history of the Lutheran bishops, Angelika Schaser's and Moshe Carmilly-Weinberger's works on the Jews in Transylvania, Joachim Bahlcke's and Krista Zach's studies of the Catholic Church, Róbert Dán's publications on the history and ideology of the Transylvanian Sabbatarians.[33] Also, in recent years, two collections have been published with a broad spectrum of contributions on the denominational cultures and on humanism in Transylvania.[34]

in Konrad Gündisch et al. (eds.), *Das Bild des Anderen in Siebenbürgen. Stereotype in einer multiethnischen Region* (Cologne, 1997), 109–154; Graeme Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier, 1600–1660: International Calvinism and the Reformed Church in Hungary and Transylvania* (Oxford, 2000); from the numerous works of Balázs just three examples: Mihály Balázs, *Early Transylvanian Antitrinitarianism (1566–1571). From Servet to Palaeologus* (Baden-Baden, 1996); Mihály Balázs and Gizella Keserű (eds.), *György Enyedi and Central European Unitarianism in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Budapest, 2000); Mihály Balázs, "'A hit…hallásból leszen'. Megjegyzések a négy recepta religio intézményesüléséhez Erdélyben a 16. században ['Faith…Comes from Hearing.' Remarks on the Institutionalization of the Four *religiones receptae* in Transylvania in the 16th Century]," in *Szakály Ferenc emlékkönyv* [Festschrift for Ferenc Szakály] (Budapest, 2002).

[33] Hermann Jekeli, *Unsere Bischöfe 1553–1867* (Hermannstadt, 1993); Angelika Schaser, "Die Juden Siebenbürgens vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert," *Südost-Forschungen* 49 (1990), 57–94; Moshe Carmilly-Weinberger, *Istoria evreilor din Transilvania (1623–1944)* [History of the Jews in Transylvania (1623–1944)] (Bucharest, 1994); Joachim Bahlcke, "Status catholicus und Kirchenpolitik in Siebenbürgen. Entwicklungsphasen des römisch-katholischen Klerus zwischen Reformation und Josephinismus," in Zsolt K. Lengyel and Ulrich A. Wien (eds.), *Siebenbürgen in der Habsburgermonarchie. Vom Leopoldinum bis zum Ausgleich 1690–1867* (Cologne, 1999), 151–179; Krista Zach, "Die katholische Kirche in Siebenbürgen vom 12. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert," *Siebenbürgische Semesterblätter* 12 (1998), 43–67; Róbert Dán, *Az erdélyi szombatosok és Péchi Simon* [The Transylvanian Sabbatarians and Simon Péchi] (Budapest, 1987).

[34] Volker Leppin and Ulrich A. Wien (eds.), *Konfessionsbildung und Konfessionskultur in Siebenbürgen in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Stuttgart, 2005); Ulrich A. Wien and Krista Zach (eds.), *Humanismus in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen. Politik, Religion und Kunst im 16. Jahrhundert* (Cologne, 2004).

CHAPTER TWO

THE REGION AND ITS INHABITANTS

The Region

There are good historiographical reasons to assign Transylvania[1] to East-Central Europe,[2] especially for the late medieval and early modern periods. On the other hand, because the region has belonged to Romania since 1918, it is often treated as part of Southeastern Europe. These differing allocations do not arise out of ignorance or carelessness; in many respects Transylvania has been (and still is) a transitional zone and an area of overlap, not only politically and geographically, but also historically and culturally. By analyzing some of the ethnic and linguistic aspects of Transylvania's denominational differentiation in early modern times, I hope this book will shed some light on the cultural complexity of the region.

Throughout the 16th and 17th centuries the political formation "Principality of Transylvania" was a state with varying dimensions and mobile frontiers.[3] Its core was the historical region Transylvania, a hill country rich in water resources and covered with forests, lying at the foot of the crescent-shaped Carpathian Mountains. In addition, it encompassed a fluctuating number of East-Hungarian counties (vármegyék) in the west, an area called the Partium. Roughly defined,

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[1] In Romanian: Transilvania or Ardeal; Hungarian: Erdély; German: Siebenbürgen.

[2] For more on the historical and geographical region of East-Central Europe see Jenő Szűcs, *Die drei historischen Regionen Europas* (Frankfurt/M., 1990); Klaus Zernack, *Osteuropa. Eine Einführung in seine Geschichte* (Munich, 1977); Werner Conze, *Ostmitteleuropa. Von der Spätantike bis zum 18. Jh.*, 2d ed. (Munich, 1993); Joachim Bahlcke, "Ostmitteleuropa," in Harald Roth (ed.), *Studienhandbuch östliches Europa*, vol. 1 (Cologne, 1999), 59–72; Karl Kaser, *Südosteuropäische Geschichte und Geschichtswissenschaft. Eine Einführung* (Vienna, 1990); Frithjof Benjamin Schenk, "Mental Maps. Die Konstruktion von geographischen Räumen in Europa seit der Aufklärung," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 28 (2002), 493–514.

[3] On the various outlines of the Transylvanian Principality in the early modern period see Imre Lukinich, *Erdély területi változásai a török hódítás korában, 1541–1711* [Changes in Transylvanian Territory During the Turkish Conquest, 1541–1711] (Budapest, 1918). Cf. Roth, *Kleine Geschichte Siebenbürgens*, 11f.

the heartland of the Principality was separated from Moldavia by the Eastern Carpathians (which include the Maramureş region), from Wallachia by the Southern Carpathians (Transylvanian Alps), and from the Pannonian Plain by the Apuseni Mountains.[4]

The Inhabitants

The Romanians

Of the larger ethnic groups[5] living in the Transylvanian Principality during the early modern era, the Romanians can most probably look back on the longest history in the region. However, their romanity/latinity and the continuity of their settlement have been vehemently disputed since the Enlightenment. In the 19th century, in the context of nascent Romanian nationalism, the seniority—indeed priority—of the Romanians in an area where they were numerically predominant but had remained for most of the time without political rights, became a pivotal issue. A brief sketch of the two sides of this debate will have to suffice here:[6]

[4] Heinz Heltmann and Gustav Servatius, "Die naturräumliche Gliederung Siebenbürgens," in Heinz Heltmann (ed.), *Naturwissenschaftliche Forschungen über Siebenbürgen* (Cologne, 1991), 91–120; Hansjörg Küster, *Geschichte der Landschaft in Mitteleuropa. Von der Eiszeit bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich, 1995).

[5] In order to facilitate a comprehensible overview, the ethnic groups with a less numerous presence in Transylvania in the early modern period (Slovaks, Ruthenians, Bulgarians, Roma, Armenians, and others) are not included in the present work.

[6] On the early history of the region and its inhabitants see Vlad Georgescu, *Istoria românilor. De la origini pînă în zilele* noastre [The History of the Romanians: From the Origins to the Present], 4th ed. (Bucharest, 1995), 15–32, also published as *The Romanians. A History* (Columbus, 1991); Constantin Daicoviciu, *La Transylvanie dans l'Antiquité* (Bucharest, 1945); Kurt Horedt, *Untersuchungen zur Frühgeschichte Siebenbürgens* (Bucharest, 1958); Kurt Horedt, *Siebenbürgen in spätrömischer Zeit* (Bucharest 1982); Wolfgang Schuller (ed.), *Siebenbürgen zur Zeit der Römer und der Völkerwanderung* (Cologne, 1994); Cf. the concise summaries and helpful bibliographies in: Roth, *Kleine Geschichte Siebenbürgens*, 20–24 and 167–68; Harald Roth (ed.), *Siebenbürgen* (Stuttgart, 2003), xix–xxiv and 265–66.

The Continuity Theory: The Romanians as Descendants of the Daco-Romans

In the last pre-Christian centuries the Dacians (a people of Thracian descent) populated large areas of the Carpatho-Danubian region.[7] Under the leadership of Burebista (82–44 BC) a state-like formation developed, in which several Getic clans were integrated as well. The most important political center of this formation was Sarmizegetusa in southwestern Transylvania. In the 1st century AD the Dacians controlled an area that stretched from the Eastern Carpathians to the Danube in the south and to the Tisza in the west, reaching the fringes of the Roman realm. In the course of Rome's expansionist policy, the Emperor Trajan waged two wars against the Dacians, who were led by Decebal, and, after the final victory in 106, the Roman province *Dacia Traiana* was established in Transylvania (divided later into *Dacia Superior* and *Dacia Porolissensis*) and part of Wallachia (*Dacia Inferior*). At the end of the second century and again after 230 AD, the province (the only Roman-controlled territory north of the lower Danube) was the scene of numerous armed confrontations with invading Germanic tribes. In addition to constructing a considerable number of fortifications, the Romans tried to consolidate their position through a colonization program that brought in settlers from all over the empire. When increased pressure by the Goths in the east caused significant movements among the populations in the larger Carpatho-Danubian region and affected the Dacian province as well, Rome gradually withdrew from the territories north of the Danube. The measures ended in 271 under Emperor Aurelian, when Roman administrators, military personnel, and some of the settlers retreated to the south and west.[8]

According to the proponents of the continuity theory, the Latin speakers who remained north of the Danube, together with the Dacians among whom they had settled, became the ancestors of the later

[7] Hadrian Daicoviciu, *Dacii* [The Dacians] (Bucharest, 1965); Ion Horaţiu Crişan, *Burebista and His Time* (Bucharest, 1978); Ioan Glodariu, *Dacian Trade with the Hellenistic and Roman World during the 2nd Century B.C.–1st Century A.D.* (Oxford 1976).

[8] Ion I. Russu, *Inscripţiile Daciei Romane. Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae*, 4 vols. (Bucharest, 1975–88); Vasile Moga, *Din istoria militară a Daciei romane. Legiunea XIII Gemina* [From the Military History of Roman Dacia. The Legion XIII Gemina] (Cluj-Napoca, 1985); Mihai Bărbulescu, *Din istoria militară a Daciei romane. Legiunea V Macedonica şi castrul de la Potaissa* [From the Military History of Roman Dacia. The Legion V Macedonica and the Potaissa Castrum], vol. 1 (Cluj-Napoca, 1989).

Romanians. During the following centuries, these Daco-Romans lived mainly in protected mountainous areas, as the region was affected by a succession of great migrations: (in chronological order) West Goths, Huns, Gepids, Avars, Bulgarians. The small (proto-)Romanian principalities of the later Middle Ages were conquered by the Hungarians, who pushed into Transylvania for the first time in the tenth century. The strongest arguments of the modern advocates of Daco-Roman continuity are the language of the Romanians, which belongs to the Romance family of languages, as well as their numerical superiority to the other ethnic groups in Transylvania.[9]

The Migration Theory: The Romanians as Balkan-Romans

In the absence of conclusive archaeological and topographical evidence for the continued presence of a Daco-Roman population in the region after the fourth century, the proponents of this theory assume that most of the inhabitants joined the retreating Roman administrators and military units and found security south of the Danube on the Balkan Peninsula. According to these historians, the remaining (smaller) groups were eroded over the following centuries by the numerous peoples streaming into the region. The later presence of Romanians in Transylvania is explained by the pastoral life (nomadic transhumance) of their ancestors: Balkan-Roman shepherds are thought to have come to Transylvania from Bulgarian-Byzantine territories in the 12th and 13th centuries as they sought better pastures for their herds. Linguistic-historical comparisons of Romanian with Balkan-Roman languages as well as with Albanian are advanced as evidence of this thesis.[10]

The debate about the place of Romanian ethnogenesis is coupled with the question of "first rights" based on settlement seniority and its implications for the legitimation of rule in multiethnic Transylvania. In

[9] Works authored by proponents of the continuity theory include: Adolf Armbruster, *La romanité des Roumains. Histoire d'une idée* (Bucharest, 1977); Adolf Armbruster, *Der Donau-Karpatenraum in den mittel- und westeuropäischen Quellen des 10.–16. Jahrhunderts. Eine historiographische Imagologie* (Cologne, 1990); Constantin C. Giurescu, *Transsilvanien in der Geschichte des rumänischen Volkes* (Bucharest, 1968); Ligia Bârzu, *Der Fortbestand der Rumänen im ehemaligen Dazien* (Bucharest, 1981).

[10] The migration theory has been espoused by: Gottfried Schramm, *Eroberer und Eingesessene. Geographische Lehnnamen als Zeugen der Geschichte Südosteuropas im 1. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Stuttgart, 1981); Gottfried Schramm, "Frühe Schicksale der Rumänen," *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie* 21 (1985), 223–241; 22 (1985), 105–123; 23 (1986/87), 78–94; Kurt Horedt, "Die Völker Südeuropas im 6. bis 8. Jahrhundert," *Südosteuropa Mitteilungen* 25 (1985), 38–48 (revising some of his earlier views).

recent decades, historians from different Transylvanian ethnic groups have (often polemically) defended political positions, contributing with their work to the respective national historiographies.[11] One thing, however, seems certain: The strands of the two theoretical narratives merge in the 12th century, at the latest; the evidence for the existence of Romanians in Transylvania from this time is uncontested.

The Hungarians and the Szeklers

The Hungarians (Hung.: magyarok; Lat.: Hungari) migrated from their temporary settlements in the Dnieper region (which they called Etelköz) into the Pannonian Basin toward the end of the 9th century.[12] At first the land-seeking Hungarians bypassed Transylvania, taking a more northern path, through Carpathian Ruthenia (Hung.: Kárpátalja) to the Tisza. After a number of raids and military victories in Western Europe (including Italy and France) in the first half of the 10th century, and the defeat at Augsburg (Lechfeld) in 955, Taksony, the new ruling prince, sought peace with the West, asked the pope to send him a bishop, and launched military campaings against Byzantium (up to the year 972).[13] Intending to consolidate his kingdom after his coronation as "King of the Hungarians," István I removed a Transylvanian leader, or gyula, (possibly Pecheneg) in the year 1003, and founded a see with seat in Gyulafehérvár. Over the next two centuries, Transylvania was gradually integrated administratively into the Hungarian kingdom.

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[11] On the Romanian side: Constantin Daicoviciu et al. (eds.), *Din istoria Transilvaniei* [From the History of Transylvania] (Bucharest, 1960–63); Constantin Daicoviciu and Miron Constantinescu (eds.), *Brève histoire de la Transylvanie* (Bucharest, 1965); Ştefan Pascu, *Voievodatul Transilvaniei* [The Principality of Transylvania], 2 vols. (Cluj, 1972–1979); Ştefan Pascu, *A History of Transylvania* (Detroit, 1982). A Hungarian point of view may be found in Benedek Jancsó, *Erdély története* [History of Transylvania] (Cluj, 1931); Henrik Marczali, *Erdély története* [History of Transylvania] (Budapest, 1935); Miklós Asztalos (ed.), *A történeti Erdély* [The Historical Transylvania] (Budapest, 1936); László Makkai, *Erdély története* [History of Transylvania] (Budapest, 1944); a revised edition: *Histoire de Transylvanie* (Paris, 1946).

[12] On the Hungarian colonization in general see Gyula László, *A honfoglaló magyar nép élete* [The Life of the Colonizing Hungarian People] (Budapest, 1944); István Dienes, *A honfoglaló magyarok* [The Colonizing Hungarians] (Budapest, 1972). On the expansion into Transylvania: László Makkai, *Honfoglaló magyar nemzetségek Erdélyben* [Colonizing Hungarian Clans in Transylvania] (Budapest, 1944). On the history of Hungary in general: Thomas von Bogyay, *Grundzüge der Geschichte Ungarns* (Darmstadt, 1967); Peter F. Sugár (ed.), *A History of Hungary* (Bloomington, 1990).

[13] See Köpeczi, *Erdély története*, vol. 1, 198–203 and 277–279.

The Turnu Roşu-Pass between Transylvania and Wallachia (Engraving by J. Falkner, after a drawing by L. Rohbock. Courtesy of the Siebenbürgen-Institut Gundelsheim)

In the settlement of the districts along the region's southern and eastern frontiers a magyarized people of probably Turkic origin played an important part: the Szeklers (Hung.: székelyek, Lat.: Siculi).[14] They had long adopted the Hungarian language, but they continued to use a runic alphabet from Central Asia and they maintained their genealogical organization, which was composed of six clans, each with its own dynastic ruling family from which military leaders were chosen every year. Wherever they settled, the land was held as common property of the entire people, and for their duties as border guardians they received

[14] The early Hungarian chroniclers depicted the Szeklers as descendents of the Huns. However, it is more likely that they descended from the Kabars, a Turkic people who joined the Hungarians long before they moved into the Pannonian Basin. Cf. Köpeczi, *Erdély története,* vol. 1, 293. On the Szeklers: Gyula Sebestyén, *A székelyek neve és eredete* [The Name and Origin of the Szeklers] (Budapest, 1897); György Györffy, *A székelyek eredete és településük története* [Origin of the Szeklers and the History of their Settlement] (Budapest, 1941); Thomas von Bogyay, "Über Herkunft, Gesellschaft und Recht der Szekler," *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 2 (1970), 20–33; Ádám T. Szabó and Loránd Benkő, "Die Szekler. Zur Siedlungsgeschichte einer ungarischen Volksgruppe," *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 14 (1986), 207–224.

collective political rights.[15] By the end of the 12th century the entire Transylvanian highland had become part of the Hungarian kingdom through the steady shifting of the border security system (gyepü) to the east and south. Around this time border security was reorganized, and a large part of the Szeklers, still entrusted with military duties, was transplanted to an outer territory along the Eastern Carpathians. The regions in the north and the south were occupied by predominantly German-speaking immigrants, recruited from the Holy Roman Empire.[16]

The Transylvanian Saxons

The first German-speaking settlers came to Transylvania during the reign of the Hungarian king Géza II (1141–1162).[17] The vast majority built their homes on the so-called royal lands (*fundus regius* or, in German, Königsboden) and enjoyed an array of economic and political privileges, e.g. the right to elect village judges and priests as well as freedom from dependence on any seignory. As compensation they were expected to develop the land agriculturally and economically, and to render taxes to the king. They were referred to as *hospites* (guests) and *Saxones* (Saxons), the latter presumably a contemporary stereotype for western settlers in general. The Transylvanian *Saxones* adopted this designation and used it to refer to themselves.[18] In 1224 King András II confirmed the privileges that had been granted by Géza (territorial autonomy on the Königsboden, independent legal system, autonomous administration). Around this time the first fortified cities began to appear: Hermannstadt, Kronstadt, Mediasch, Schässburg, Bistritz, as well as villages protected by church-fortresses.[19]

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[15] Cf. György Bodor, "Az 1562 elötti székely nemzetségi szervezet [The Genealogical Organization of the Szeklers before 1562]," *Történelmi Szemle* 26 (1983), 281–305.

[16] Otto Mittelstrass, *Beiträge zur Siedlungsgeschichte Siebenbürgens im Mittelalter* (Munich, 1961); Hansgerd Göckenjan, *Hilfsvölker und Grenzwächter im mittelalterlichen Ungarn* (Wiesbaden, 1972).

[17] For a comprehensive history of the Transylvanian Saxons see Konrad Gündisch, *Siebenbürgen und die Siebenbürger Sachsen* (Munich, 1998); for the early history see Thomas Nägler, *Die Ansiedlung der Siebenbürger Sachsen* (Bucharest, 1979); Paul Philippi (ed.), *Zur Rechts- und Siedlungsgeschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen* (Cologne, 1971).

[18] See Roth, *Kleine Geschichte Siebenbürgens*, 32.

[19] Cf. the entries in Walter Myss (ed.), *Lexikon der Siebenbürger Sachsen* (Innsbruck, 1993), and Roth, *Siebenbürgen*. On social and urban history in the Transylvanian Middle Ages see Konrad G. Gündisch, *Das Patriziat siebenbürgischer Städte im Mittelalter* (Cologne, 1993); Maja Philippi, *Die Bürger von Kronstadt im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert.*

The Tartlau fortified church (13th–16th ct.) (Engraving by A. Rottmann, after a drawing by L. Rohbock. Courtesy of the Siebenbürgisches Museum Gundelsheim)

Ethnic Groups and Religious Affiliation Prior to the Reformation

For each of the two Christian churches, Transylvania in the Middle Ages represented both a periphery and an area in which their territories partly covered each other. Over the centuries, the region played an important role in the diffusion of cultural (including religious) influences of the most varied kind. New ideas circulating in Western Europe made their way easily across a continuous blanket of transmitters (mainly the Hungarian- and German-speaking settlers of Transylvania) to Moldavia and Wallachia. Conversely, a dense network of Orthodox communities extended to the western edge of Transylvania (and beyond). From the overlap of these cultural influences and from the gradual unification of the subsistence basis of all the Transylvanian ethnic groups—i.e. agriculture—there resulted long before the Reformation many religiously mixed villages with more than one church building.[20] This helps illustrate

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Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Sozialstruktur einer siebenbürgischen Stadt im Mittelalter (Bucharest, 1987); Paul Niedermaier, *Siebenbürgische Städte* (Cologne, 1979). On the fortified churches see Hermann Fabini, *Atlas der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Kirchenburgen und Dorfkirchen*, vol. 1 (Hermannstadt, 1998).

[20] Cf. Köpeczi, *Erdély története*, vol. 1, 366f. The implications of Transylvania's marginal position have been discussed at length by Krista Zach, "Humanismus und

the fact that Transylvania was most probably at no time in its history a religiously/denominationally uniform territory.

The Romanians and the Eastern Church

It has not yet been unambiguously determined whether during late antiquity (up to the 6th century) the territories north of the Danube were under the auspices of the Byzantine or the Roman Church. While Byzantine control is claimed by some Romanian church historians with a more or less overt national-religious agenda, there is some evidence for an early connection between the Daco-Romans/proto-Romanians, who may have lived on the left bank of the Danube as well (and thereby near or in Transylvania), and the bishop in Rome, who was represented in the region by the vicar of Thessaloniki. This version is supported by linguistic arguments; essential parts of the Christian terminology in Romanian stem from Latin.[21]

After the year 800 southern Transylvania came under Bulgarian domination. Then, at the beginning of the 10th century, the Bulgarian church separated from the imperial federation of Byzantine churches. No conclusive historical details are available on religious communities of Romanians north of the Danube during this time. In historical sources starting from the 12th century, the Transylvanian Romanians are mentioned as belonging to the Eastern ("schismatic") Church. In late medieval Transylvania this church consisted primarily of Romanian believers, but also comprised the less numerous Slavic groups (Russians, Serbs, Bulgarians), who over time assimilated linguistically.[22] The focus

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Renaissance in Siebenbürgen. Über ihre Voraussetzungen und Wege der Entfaltung in einer Randzone (15.–16. Jahrhundert)," *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 10 (1979), 163–224.

[21] Examples: *dumnezeu* (Lat.: *domine deus*), *biserică* (*basilica*), *cruce* (*crux*), *creştin* (*christianus*), *sfânt* (*sanctus*), etc. Romanian historians (here: Georgescu, *Istoria românilor*, 24) argue that these words were originally borrowed from a Latin vernacular of the first century AD, speaking of a popular Christianity (*creştinism popular*, in contrast to mission and/or mass conversion) that was spread by Roman settlers and adopted early by the indigenous population. A more differentiated linguistic-historical treatment of this thesis is to be found in Alexandru Rosetti, *Istoria limbii române de la origini pînă în secolul al XVII-lea* [The History of the Romanian Language from the Origins to the 17th Century] (Bucharest, 1968), 182–199, especially 197. On the question of a Latin control of the churches in Dacia and Macedonia in late antiquity see Aloisie L. Tăutu, "Creştinism oriental ori occidental? [Eastern or Western Christianity?]," *Buna vestire* 11/1 (1972), 39–64. Cf. to this paragraph Krista Zach, *Orthodoxe Kirche und rumänisches Volksbewusstsein im 15. bis 18. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1977), 23f.

[22] On the Transylvanian Romanians in the medieval period (in addition to the general literature on the history of Transylvania cited earlier) see: Adolf Armbruster,

of Romanian settlement lay primarily in several regions in the south (Făgăraş), southwest (Haţeg) and the north (Maramureş), but also in other parts of Transylvania. In some of these areas Romanian villages joined to form cnezates, administrative units with some degree of local autonomy.[23]

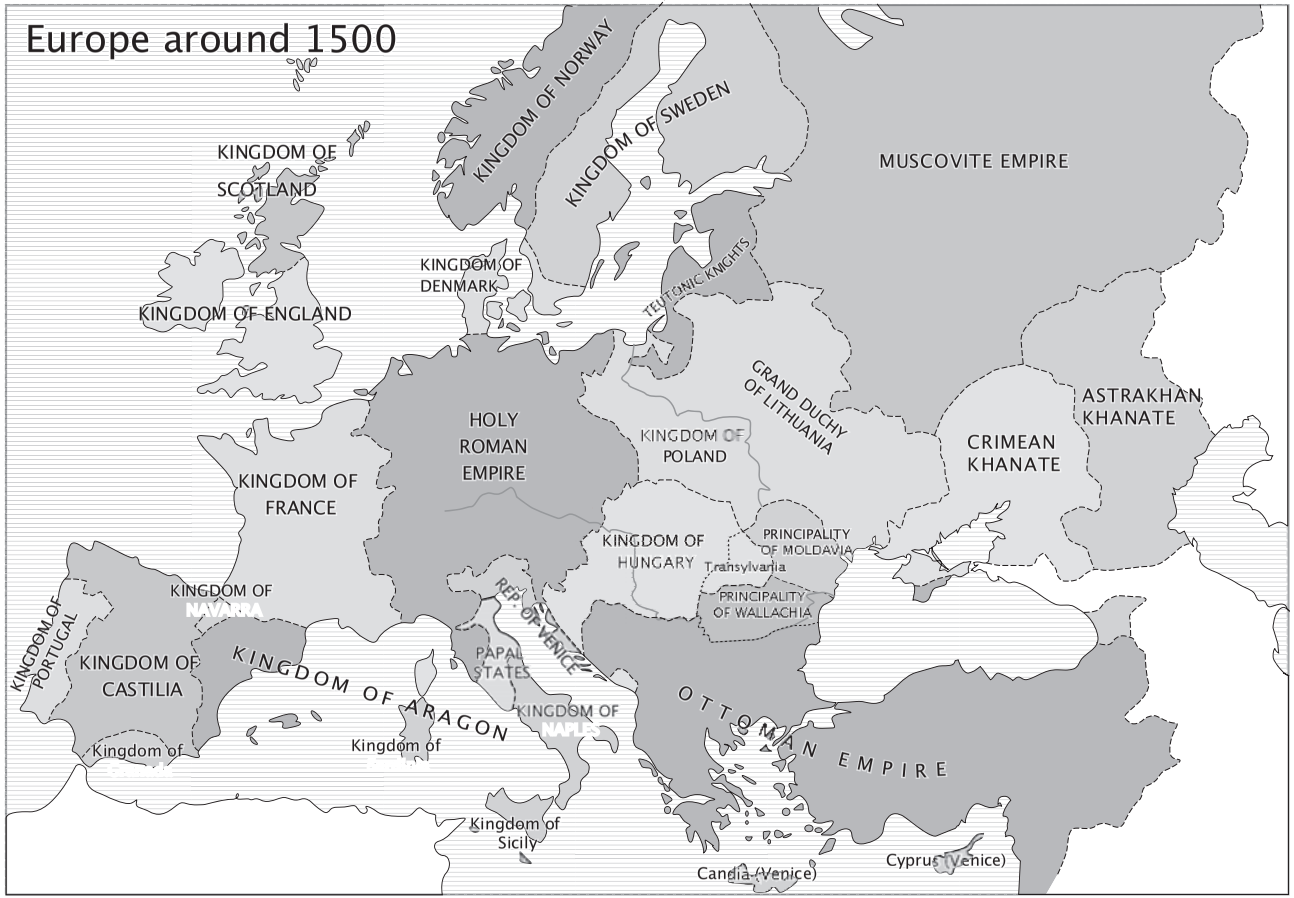
Pre-Reformation sources do not reveal much about the hierarchies of the Eastern Church in the Kingdom of Hungary. Bishops were most probably anointed abroad and had no eparchy in the usual sense of the word. Three Transylvanian Eastern Orthodox bishops are known to have resided in Erdőfelek (Feleac) near Kolozsvár in the 15th century. Also, several bishops appointed by the Romanian rulers of Moldavia and Wallachia lived in monasteries on the Transylvanian feofs of these principalities, and a monastery in the north of the region also had a bishop.[24] This indicates the Transylvanian Orthodox Church's close connections to the Danubian principalities and the significance of the monasteries in tending to the religious needs of the faithful, and thus reveals features that in the post-Reformation period will continue to characterize the orientation of the Orthodox Church.[25]

Der Donau-Karpatenraum in den mittel- und westeuropäischen Quellen des 10.–16. Jahrhunderts. Eine historiographische Imagologie (Cologne, 1990); Radu Popa, *La începuturile evului mediu românesc. Ţara Haţegului* [At the Beginnings of the Romanian Middle Ages. The Haţeg Region] (Bucharest 1988); Radu Popa, *Ţara Maramureşului în veacul al XIV-lea* [The Maramureş Region in the 14th Century] (Bucharest, 1970); Antal Lukács, *Ţara Făgăraşului în evul mediu (sec. 13–16)* [The Făgăraş Region in the Middle Ages (13th to 16th ct.)] (Bucharest, 1999); Ioan-Aurel Pop, *Romanians and Hungarians from the 9th to the 14th Century. The Genesis of the Transylvanian Medieval State* (Cluj-Napoca, 1996). For a recent selection of relevant source editions see Roth, *Siebenbürgen*, 257–260.

[23] On the *ius valachicum*, the basis of common law in the jurisdiction in the cnezates, see for example Ioan Ceterchi, *Istoria dreptului românesc* [History of Romanian Law], vol. 1 (Bucharest, 1980), 172 and 183. On the cnezates see Camil Mureşanu, "Rumänische Knesate, Woiwodschaften und Distrikte im mittelalterlichen Siebenbürgen," in Wolfgang Kessler (ed.), *Gruppenautonomie in Siebenbürgen. 500 Jahre siebenbürgisch-sächsische Nationsuniversität* (Cologne, 1990), 161–175.

[24] In 1391 the hegumen of the Orthodox monastery in Peri (Maramureş) received from the Patriarch of Constantinople the right, as exarch, to ordain and lead Orthodox clergy in several counties in northern Transylvania (Maramureş, Szatmár, Ugocsa, Inner- and Middle-Szolnok). It is possible that a similar competence was conferred upon the Prislop monastery in Hunyad county (founded in the 14th century), which, however was not directly subordinate to the Patriarch of Constantinople, but rather to the Metropolitan of Wallachia. Cf. Köpeczi, *Erdély története*, vol. 1, 214.

[25] Several Romanian historians (e.g. Ştefan Lupşa, "Mitropolia Ardealului în veacul XVI [The Transylvanian Metropolitan See in the 16th Century]," *Mitropolia Ardealului* 5/7–8 (1960), 373–398) assume the existence of a stable and relatively pervasive Orthodox hierarchy in Transylvania since the 15th century. Cf. Zach, "Zur Geschichte der Konfessionen," 45f.



The historical region of Transylvania in Europe at the turn of the 15th century (Map by Kjell Helge Sjøstrøm)

Hungarians, Szeklers, Germans and the Catholic Church

In Transylvania before the early modern period, virtually the entire non-Orthodox population of the three distinct areas[26] belonged to the Roman Catholic Church. This included the (predominantly Hungarian) county nobility, the non-Romanian inhabitants of the counties, and, in their respective territories, the Szeklers and the Transylvanian Saxons. According to the ecclesiastical division of the Hungarian kingdom before the Reformation, the Transylvanian see, with its seat in Gyulafehérvár, covered almost the entire region.[27] Exceptions were two chapters of the Saxons directly subordinate to the archbishopric of Esztergom: the *ecclesia praeposita* of Hermannstadt, confirmed by Pope Coelestin III in 1191,[28] and the Burzenland chapter. The rest of the areas inhabited by Transylvanian Saxons were divided into deaneries (Dekanate), whereby those of the Königsboden answered directly to the bishop of Gyulafehérvár, while those in the counties belonged to the archdioceses of the Transylvanian see.[29] The archdioceses were by and large coextensive with their respective counties, except the archdiocese of Ózd on the upper Maros, which did not have its own county.[30]

The Transylvanian see was one the most lucrative ecclesiastical territories of the Hungarian Kingdom. Toward the end of the 12th century the Transylvanian bishop contributed 2000 marks (1 mark = c. 245 grams) of silver to the coffers of the Roman Church, which placed him fourth among 14 Hungarian bishops. The numerous armed conflicts to defend this right to tithe (especially in the 14th century) substantially compromised the moral and spiritual authority of the institution. The bishops that stood at the head of this see (24 of them between 1270 and 1524) came at first from abroad (e.g. France and Italy), later they were

[26] For the three areas see also page 30 in this book.

[27] An inventory of the medieval Catholic parishes in Transylvania is given in: Ferenc Lestyán, *Megszentelt kövek. A középkori erdélyi püspökség templomai* [Consecrated Stones. The Churches of the Medieval Transylvanian See], 2 vols. (Gyulafehérvár, 2000).

[28] The Propstei of Hermannstadt was dissolved in 1424.

[29] Georg Eduard Müller, "Die deutschen Landkapitel in Siebenbürgen und ihre Dechanten 1192–1848. Ein rechtsgeschichtlicher Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Landeskirche in Siebenbürgen," *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 48 (1934), 1–532.

[30] Cf. to this paragraph Köpeczi, *Erdély története*, 369–376. See also János Karácsonyi, "Az erdélyi püspökség története 1526-ig [The History of the Transylvanian See up to 1526]," in *Az erdélyi katholicizmus múltja és jelene* [Transylvanian Catholicism: Past and Present] (Dicsőszentmárton, 1925), 16–30.

mostly indigenous aristocrats, but representatives of the lower nobility and clerics from wealthy urban families as well succeeded to bishops' seats, most of whom had studied at foreign universities.[31]

Among the religious orders active in Transylvania before the Reformation, the Benedictines stand out. Their abbey in Kolozsmonostor, founded by László I in the last decades of the 11th century, was one of two *loca credibilia* in the country.[32] Gyerőmonostor, Almás, and Mönchsdorf had Benedictine abbeys as well. The Cistercians had an abbey at Kerz. It was closed in 1474 and the property passed to the Marienkirche in Hermannstadt. Mendicant orders were established in the region, too. Dominicans (both monks and nuns) were active

[31] In 1270 Petrus II becomes the bishop of Gyulafehérvár (until 1307), followed by Benedictus I (1307–1319) and András I Szécsi Rimaszécsi (1320–1356). The last Transylvanian bishops before the Reformation were Domokos II Kálmáncsehi (1501–1502), Miklós II Bácskay (1503–1504), Zsigmond I Bethlenfalvi Thurzó (1504–1506), Ferenc I Perényi (1508–1513), and Ferenc II Várdai (1514–1524). For complete lists of the bishops of the Catholic and Protestant churches in Transylvania see György Jakubinyi, *Romániai katolikus, erdélyi protestáns és izraelita vallási archontológia* [Catholic, Transylvanian Protestant, and Jewish Archontology for Romania] (Gyulafehérvár, 1998). Cf. Roth, *Siebenbürgen*, 240f. Not only the bishops were educated; the high levels of education (for their time) among the pre-Reformation Transylvanian-Saxon clergy is documented in many sources. For example, the statutes of the Burzenland chapter stipulate that every pastoral candidate have higher learning: *Nisi plebanus confirmandus et instituendus sit in aliquo studio generali approbatus, ne confirmetur nec instituatur*. Already in the early lists of clergy the high frequency of academic titles stands out. On 6 June 1420 deans and pastors of the Königsboden gathered at the official seat of the pastor of Mediasch, among them the cleric Nicolaus of Marienburg and Nicolaus, the dechant (that is, the dean of the chapter) of Mühlbach and pastor of Reussmarkt, both with the degree *magister artium liberalium*; the dechant of Mediasch and pastor of Birthälm, Sigismund, *baccalaureus in decretis*; the dechant of Kosd and pastor of Stein, Salamon, *artium baccalaureus.* Cf. Richard Schuller, *Der siebenbürgisch-sächsische Pfarrer. Eine Kulturgeschichte* (Cologne, 2003), 23f.; reprint of the Schässburg edition of 1930. Between 1377 and 1530, more than a thousand Transylvanian-Saxon students studied in Vienna, while in Kraków between 1402 and 1522 at least 116 studied in the arts faculty alone. Cf. Adolf Schullerus, "Das Hochschulstudium der sächsischen Geistlichkeit in der katholischen Zeit," *Kirchliche Blätter*, February 16 (1918), 55; *Századok* (1909), 302. Other universities attended by Transylvanian students before the Reformation include those of Rome, Prague, Heidelberg, Leipzig, Basel, Padua, Bologna, Ferrara, Pisa, Siena, Paris, Orleans, Bourges, Poitiers, Anjou. See Schuller, *Der siebenbürgisch-sächsische Pfarrer*, 25. Thomas Wall, successor to Petrus Thonhäuser as pastor in Schellenberg, studied 10 years at the University in Vienna and lectured there on Horace and Ovid before assuming his pastoral duties. In: Adolf Schullerus, "Geschichte des Gottesdienstes in der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Kirche," *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 41/2–3 (1928), 299–389. Cf. to this paragraph Stefan Sienerth, *Geschichte der siebenbürgisch-deutschen Literatur. Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Cluj-Napoca, 1984), 67f.

[32] *Loca credibilia* were offices with the authority to issue and notarize documents. The other one was Gyulafehérvár.

in Transylvania beginning in the 13th century with monasteries and convents in Gyulafehérvár and in several Transylvanian-Saxon towns.[33] The Franciscans settled mainly in the Szekler territories, but were also in Weisskirch (Fehéregyháza) and Hunyad.[34]

As far as can be seen from the sources, the Catholic and Eastern churches coexisted mostly without larger conflicts during the reign of the Árpád kings. Periodically, however, restrictive measures were ordered against the Orthodox Church. These measures affected Transylvania as well, if often only marginally.[35] The numbers of believers for each church for the period before the Reformation can only be estimated; presumably the two groups were more or less in equilibrium in this respect.[36]

[33] Presumably the oldest collections in the former "Capellenbibliothek" in Hermannstadt and the Gymnasium library in Kronstadt date back to the Dominicans: Psalteries (Psalm books for liturgical use), Antiphonaries (two-part, alternating vocal music), Graduals (hymn books), lectionaries (bible passages collected for reading in mass), glossaries, breviaries, missals (books for mass), writings on church law, works of the Church Fathers, scholastic writings, etc. In: Béla Iványi, "Geschichte des Dominikanerordens in Siebenbürgen und der Moldau," *Siebenbürgische Vierteljahresschrift* 63/1 (1940), 34f.

[34] Cf. also Niedermaier, *Siebenbürgische Städte*, 269.

[35] Bucsay, *Der Protestantismus in Ungarn*, 34. For an overview of Catholic missions, some of which were repressive, see Krista Zach, *Die bosnische Franziskanermission des 17. Jahrhunderts im südöstlichen Niederungarn* (Munich, 1979), 48–52. Cf. her "Zur Geschichte der Konfessionen," 45f.

[36] See the reports of the later provost of Gyulafehérvár, Antonius Verantius (Verancsics) in: Maria Holban et al. (eds.), *Călători străini despre țările române* [Foreign Travelers on the Romanian Lands], vol. 1 (Bucharest, 1968), 410. For somewhat diverging conclusions see Köpeczi, *Erdély története*, vol. 1, 401: from approximately 500,000 inhabitants around 1500 (in historical Transylvania), ca. 150,000 Romanians, ca. 250,000 Hungarians and Szeklers, ca. 100,000 Transylvanian Saxons.

CHAPTER THREE

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN THE 15TH AND 16TH CENTURIES

Transylvania's Estates: The Nationes

An essential trait of European history from the 13th to the 15th century was the formation and development of a society structured by estates. The estates grew out of legally co-equal groups that had attained hereditary privileges and articulated their rights within the state through estate representations. The rights and responsibilities of a person in an estate-based, or corporative, society were determined essentially by membership in an estate and less by the specific individual situation. Estates developed in Eastern European societies as well, but primarily in those that were influenced by the models of Western Christendom. Overall, the estate-based societies of East-Central Europe appear to have been more structured than the societies of Russia or the Balkan Peninsula, for example, and had representative bodies, a means by which they were able to limit the power of the ruler, if necessary.[1] The formation of estate-based societies was the result of protracted transformations and differentiations, in the course of which the coexistence of different social groups was codified in law. Landowner and peasant became legal parties beginning with the 12th century, when a landowning class began to distinguish itself more and more from the farmers, and a group of privileged nobles developed. With a few exceptions (Scandinavia, Switzerland, and some smaller areas in Germany and

[1] In the Orthodox regions of Eastern Europe, in which estates did not develop at all or only in rudimentary form, the Orthodox Church was often a state church and did not present a regulating counterweight to the state. Cf. Ákos Egyed, *Erdély 1848. évi utolsó rendi országgyülése* [The Last Estate Assembly in Transylvania in the Year 1848] (Marosvásárhey, 2001), 7f. See also András Kubinyi, "Landesherr, Reichstag bzw. Landtag und Komitatsversammlungen in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen 1542–1681," in Joachim Bahlcke, Hans-Jürgen Bömelburg, and Norbert Kersken (eds.), *Ständefreiheit und Staatsgestaltung in Ostmitteleuropa. Übernationale Gemeinsamkeiten in der politischen Kultur vom 16.–18. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1996), 81–94.

Italy), these legal arrangements excluded the peasantry from the estate structure and left it without representation.

Three distinct groups, each in its own territory, developed in 12th- and 13th-century Transylvania to a point where they participated significantly in the administration of the country, which in the time before the Principality was ruled by non-Transylvanian voivodes appointed by the king of Hungary. In the largest of these territories, the counties, the landowning Hungarian nobility furnished itself with considerable privileges—although ultimate state power lay with the voivode—and attained extensive juridical authority in their respective territories. The second group was the Szeklers, whose social structure reflected their traditional responsibility for border security, even after the establishment of administrative districts[2] in their territories in the 14th century. Szekler society consisted of three strata: the *primores* (political and military leaders); the *primipili*, who were permanently obligated to military service (light cavalry); and the *pedites* and *pixidarii* (infantry). Collective nobility rights and territorial autonomy were the main characteristics of the *universitas Siculorum*, at whose head stood the Szekler count (ispán). Like the Szeklers, the members of the third group, the Transylvanian Saxons, settled on lands belonging to the crown:[3] the Szeklers in the east, the Saxons mainly in the south around the towns Hermannstadt and Kronstadt (Burzenland) and, further to the north, around Bistritz (Nösnerland). The Saxons, too, had an autonomous status directly subordinate to the king, and were led by a royal judge (*iudex regius*, Königsrichter), who in the early years was chosen by the ruler but later was elected from their own ranks. The Romanians are absent from these groups out of which the Transylvanian estates developed. The decisive reason for this is that in Hungary (and Transylvania), as in most parts of Europe, the peasants acquired no political and juridical privileges but were usually subordinated to their respective landowners. Although this development was not ethnic in character, the overwhelming majority of the Romanian population at

[2] The Szekler districts ("seats") were: Udvarhely, Maros, Csík, Aranyos, Sepsi, Kézdi, and Orbai (the last three known collectively as Háromszék). Saxon seats were established as well during this time.

[3] Each of the two areas comprised approximately a quarter of the Transylvanian territory. After the 16th century the designation *fundus regius* (Königsboden) referred only to the lands of the Transylvanian Saxons. On Transylvania's political-territorial units see Ernst Wagner, *Historisch-statistisches Ortsnamenbuch für Siebenbürgen. Mit einer Einführung in die historische Statistik des Landes* (Cologne, 1977), 33f.

the time of estate formation was made up of graziers, peasants, and vassals without extensive, well-defined settlement areas, and therefore without territorial autonomy. Over time, (Romanian) leaders of the cnezates into which Romanian villages were organized achieved elevation to nobility and, as did many of the early Saxon elite (the so-called Gräfen) and Szekler *primores*, became—as Catholics—members of the estate of nobles, the *natio Hungarica*.

From medieval times onward, the three Transylvanian estates were called *nationes*.[4] This appellation implied neither descent nor strictly ethnic-linguistic connotations, the hallmark of a *natio* being rather the totality of its rights and privileges—the *libertas* (freedom) possessed by the community. The outlines of the Transylvanian estates did not always correspond to ethnic borderlines; only the free were members of a *natio*, while all of the unfree—whether Romanian, Hungarian or Saxon—remained outside the political-legal framework of the *nationes*. Thus, members of the "Hungarian" *natio* (*natio Hungarica*) were (noble) landowners with individual rights of possession—in contrast to the members of the Szekler and Saxon *nationes*, whose ownership

[4] On the use of the term *natio* in texts relating to Transylvania from the 13th to 17th centuries, see Krista Zach, "Nation und Konfession im Reformationszeitalter," in Georg Weber and Renate Weber (eds.), *Luther und Siebenbürgen. Ausstrahlungen von Reformation und Humanismus nach Südosteuropa* (Cologne, 1985), 156–211, here 180ff. The texts that Zach adduces include cosmographies, travelogues, and geographical writings. The term occurs in the most varied contexts and with differing semantic fields: a) in the sense of a people or a tribe (*gens/populus/natio*). Since the high Middle Ages *natio* occurs in sources and documents in isolated uses that approach the current meaning of the concept, namely an ethnically homogeneous, territorially precisely defined population; b) in the same semantic field, but with shifted focus, *natio* indicates an institutional-political category, e.g. the "political people," the "political nation." Exceptional cases mention the "three-fold nation" as Transylvania's inhabitants: *natio eam triplam incolit*; c) as a term for the estates, the privileged groups (the nobles, the Szeklers, and the Saxons) represented in the legislative assemblies. For this last meaning, *ordines* or *statu(u)s et ordines* was the common expression in Western Europe. As a rule, *natio* (in the sense of estate) was used in the texts along with the number three, sometimes accompanied by the ethnonymic enumeration of the estates. The politically unrepresented Romanians and other ethnic groups usually do not appear in these lists. However, the chronicles of the 16th century include many formulations that betray a certain embarrassment on this point and express the lack of political-institutional role of the Romanians as a group: "three *nationes* and the Wallachians [that is, Romanians]"; d) as a qualification of the denominational groups whose boundaries correspond to the ethnic boundaries (another variation of the first category): *ecclesia Dei nationis Hungaricae* or *Saxonicae*. This represented the second nomenclatural step in the denominational differentiation, according to region and ethnicity/estate, after the regionalization was at first expressed by means of city names (e.g. "Hermannstadt Church" as a designation for the Transylvanian-Saxon, Lutheran Church).

of the land was based on privileges granted to the group. In addition to Hungarians, some Szeklers, Saxons, and Romanians could also become members of this "*natio* of nobles" as long as they owned land in the counties. Over time these Romanians and Saxons as a rule tended to assimilate linguistically and culturally to the Hungarians, in the course of what is viewed by most historians as a voluntary process of adaptation. The Szekler *natio* (*natio Siculica*) had ceased to be a distinct ethnic group by the early modern period. Contemporary accounts show that the Szeklers were often looked upon as "the most Hungarian of the Hungarians."[5] The Transylvanian-Saxon *natio* (*natio Saxonica*) was ethnically homogeneous, but it did not encompass all of the Transylvanian Saxons; Saxon town dwellers and peasants living in the county territory were not included. As mentioned earlier, a "Romanian *natio*" did not exist.[6]

The Political Alliance of the Three Nationes: Unio Trium Nationum

The privileges granted to these three groups (the nobility, the Saxons, and the Szeklers)[7] provided the basic prerequisites for the formation of *nationes* in medieval Transylvania as "estates with hereditary rights." The starting point for the establishment of the *natio Hungarica* was the extension of the prerogatives of high nobility to the lower nobles through the "Golden Bull" of András II (1222).[8] Seminal for the Transylvanian Saxons was the charter issued by the same king in 1224. The Szeklers also received the recognition of their customary

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[5] See for example the work of Mihály Vilmányi Libécz from 1558. In: János Horváth (ed.), *Magyar versek könyve* [The Book of Hungarian Poems] (Budapest, 1937), 31. Cf. Köpeczi, *Erdély története*, vol. 1, 348.

[6] David Prodan provides a helpful elucidation of the *natio*-concept (unlike other representatives of Romanian historical research from earlier decades, who do not always rigorously pursue the necessary conceptual differentiation): David Prodan, *Supplex Libellus Valachorum. Aus der Geschichte der rumänischen Nationsbildung (1700–1848)* (Cologne, 1982), especially the sections "Das politische Gefüge des Fürstentums Siebenbürgen" (63–68) and "Die Entstehung des Begriffs 'rumänische Nation'" (75–78).

[7] Cf. Konrad G. Gündisch, "Zur Entstehung der sächsischen Nationsuniversität," in Wolfgang Kessler (ed.), *Gruppenautonomie in Siebenbürgen. 500 Jahre siebenbürgisch-sächsische Nationsuniversität* (Cologne, 1990), 62–92.

[8] Extensive discussion of the different threads of development regarding the *natio* of nobles can be found in Erik Fügedi, "Die ungarische Adelsnation in Siebenbürgen," in Kessler, *Gruppenautonomie in Siebenbürgen*, 62–92.

rights around this time, although the oldest remaining document of these rights is from the 15th century.[9] The external policy of each of the three *nationes* was at first aimed at consolidating and expanding the privileges it had been granted.[10] In the course of the 13th century autonomous administrative and juridical units evolved within the *nationes* (counties, seats, and districts). From then on regular meetings took place in each of the three communities: congregations of nobles, general assemblies of the Szekler seats, and assemblies of the Saxon seats.[11] Also starting in the 13th century, representatives of the three privileged groups would meet in assemblies, usually called by the voivode, which dealt with adjudication, administrative organization, and military issues that affected all three groups.[12] It would certainly be premature to assume that already in the 13th and 14th centuries a community existed of common—"Transylvanian"—interest among the nobility, the Szeklers, and the Saxons. Only toward the end of the 14th century, when Ottoman troops first threatened the Kingdom of Hungary, did the nobility and the—socially inferior—Szeklers and Saxons move closer together. Almost fifty years later, in 1437, the estates closed ranks under the threat of a peasant revolt.

Under Sigismund of Luxemburg (1387–1437) a series of armed clashes occurred with the Ottoman Empire, and in the first decades of the 15th century southern Transylvania was repeatedly the scene of battles. The country's defenses were then reorganized and the burden of taxes and levies on the peasantry, which had long been steadily climbing, shot up dramatically, resulting in unrest across the entire region. Also, the followers of Jan Hus, whom Sigismund (as Holy Roman Emperor) tried to suppress with Hungarian armed forces, found their way to

[9] On the Szeklers' privileges see von Bogyay, "Über Herkunft, Gesellschaft und Recht der Szekler" and Göckenjan, *Hilfsvölker und Grenzwächter*, 137f.

[10] Köpeczi, *Erdély története*, vol. 1, 348f.

[11] György Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori magyarország történeti földrajza* [The Historical Geography of Hungary during the Árpád Dynasty], 4 vols. (Budapest, 1966–1998); Georg Eduard Müller, *Stühle und Distrikte als Unterteilungen der Siebenbürgisch-Deutschen Nationsuniversität 1141–1876* (Hermannstadt, 1941).

[12] The first documented region-wide assembly (Landtag) in Transylvania took place in 1291, but its minutes refer to previous assemblies. Romanians, too, seem to have participated in the Diet of 1291. See Aurel Decei, "Contribution à l'étude de la situation politique des Roumains de Transylvanie au XIII^{e} et au XIV^{e} siècle," *Revue de Transylvanie* 6 (1940), 217–224 and Ştefan Pascu, *Voievodatul Transilvaniei* [The Voivodeship of Transylvania] vol. 1 (Cluj, 1971), 254f. Cf. to this section Gündisch, "Entstehung der Nationsuniversität."

Transylvania. In 1436 the Transylvanian bishop Georgius II had the Italian Franciscan and inquisitor Jacob of Marchia come to his territory and provided troops to support him in his actions against the Hussites.[13] In 1437 a great peasant revolt broke out. The rebels—overwhelmingly Hungarian and Romanian, but with some Transylvanian-Saxon vassals and farmers as well—won several victories and forced concessions from the nobility, which were made binding in an agreement signed in July before the convent at Kolozsmonostor.[14] Facing rebellious peasants at home as well as the Ottoman threat from without, the estates joined together in a "fraternal union" (*fraterna unio*) and pledged mutual aid. The *Unio trium nationum* was an alliance of expedience, but it was based on interests shared by leading strata of all three estates. In addition to addressing the dangers mentioned above, it was also important to defend estate privileges against encroachments by the central power. In February 1438 the union was solemnly renewed in Torda and in 1459 a second union was sealed, in which concerns about central power figured more prominently.

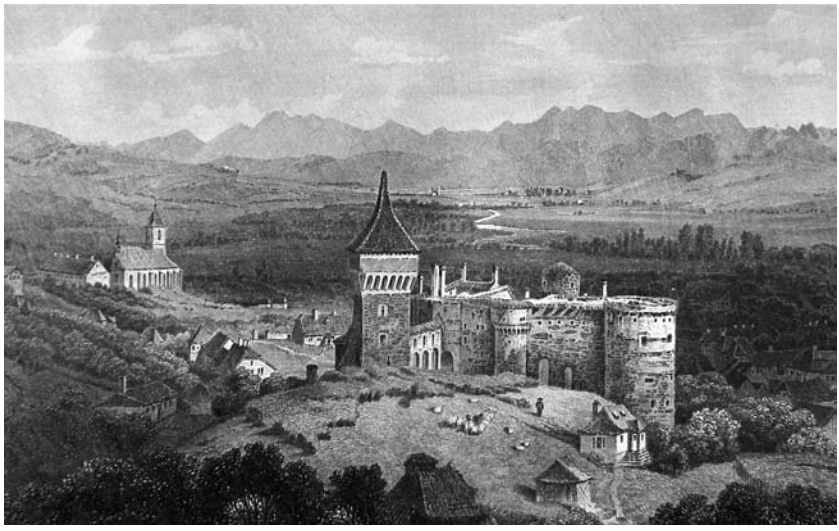
The Transylvanian-Saxon Nationsuniversität

For the Transylvanian Saxons, the emphasis on the protection of privileges against the country's rulers was justified by a concrete case of violation of documented privileges by King László V (1446–1457), who in 1453, disregarding the assurances of the Andrean Charter, had given part of the royal lands inhabited by Saxons (the Nösnerland with the town of Bistritz) to János Hunyadi (Iancu de Hunedoara) as a newly created earldom.[15] The dispute over the Nösnerland was still unresolved in the early 1460s, when King Mátyás Hunyadi (Matthias

[13] Köpeczi, *Erdély története*, vol. 1, 354.

[14] See Lajos Demény, *Az 1437–38–as bábolnai népi felkelés* [The Peasant Revolt of Bábolna in the Years 1437–38] (Bucharest, 1964) and Ştefan Pascu, *Der transsilvanische Volksaufstand 1437–1438* (Bucharest, 1964).

[15] Cf. Gündisch, "Entstehung der Nationsuniversität," 76f. The hereditary earldom of Bistritz was dissolved by Matthias Corvinus in 1465 and "the liberties" were returned to the citizens. For more on the events in Bistritz see Albert Berger, "Die Hunyadiburg," *Nösner Gabe 1928. Festschrift anlässlich der 66. Hauptversammlung des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* (1929), 1–24.



The Vajdahunyad (Hunedoara) castle (14th–17th ct.) (Engraving by G. M. Kurz, after a drawing by L. Rohbock. Courtesy of the Siebenbürgen-Institut Gundelsheim)

Corvinus, 1458–1490) awarded another Transylvanian-Saxon territory, the seat and town of Mühlbach, to János Pongrácz, the voivode of Transylvania. This and the planned nullification of the nobles' freedom from levies spurred the *Unio trium nationum* to action; an assembly in Kolozsmonostor in August 1467 moved to answer the king's caprice with armed resistance. Hunyadi quickly stifled this movement, but at the same time he was willing to talk and had an open ear for diplomatic initiatives from the Transylvanian Saxons regarding the areas of the Königsboden that had been given to the voivode.

In the course of negotiations over Mühlbach, all the Saxon seats and districts acted collectively for the first time: In 1473 representatives from all the Transylvanian-Saxon regional corporations participated in an assembly; in March 1481 the king was presented with a "petition from the towns and all Germans of Transylvania" ("Anbringen […] der stet vnd aller Teutschen aus Sybenbürgen"); and in June 1484 an invitation to a consultation used the expression *universitas Saxonum* for the first time in referring to the representatives of the free Transylvanian Saxons of the Seven and Two Seats (Sieben und Zwei Stühle), of the Nösnerland and the Burzenland. Thus, as a direct consequence of the

supra-regional union of the Transylvanian estates, the "university" of the Saxon estate, the Nationsuniversität, emerged "as the supreme political, administrative, judicial, and representative authority of the Transylvanian-German settlers"[16]

As the highest authority of the estate, the Nationsuniversität exercised an influence on the processes of denomination formation among the Transylvanian Saxons that cannot be overestimated.[17] A tradition dating back to the Middle Ages sheds some light on the tightly interwoven relationship between church and secular authority. The Transylvanian Saxons had autonomously administered their individual, proprietary churches (*propria ecclesia*) since the time of original settlement, and this tradition promoted the later influence of the Nationsuniversität on church affairs. The principle of church autonomy among the *hospites* meant that the right of patronage lay with the respective church community. The rights of the parishes to choose and support their own pastors autonomously were already recorded in the Andrean Charter. The clergy in many of the German-speaking church communities—those that were not under the jurisdiction of the bishopric of Gyulafehérvár—enjoyed a certain freedom of action. The chapters of Kronstadt and Hermannstadt had the de facto status of exempt organizations, even if the archbishop in Esztergom viewed them as under his jurisdiction. In the view of several church historians, the prerogative of local Transylvanian-Saxon church communities to elect their own pastor had passed to the highest levels of political organization by the beginning of the 15th century at the latest.[18] A milestone in this process occurred in 1351/52, when the regional corporation of the Seven Seats (Sieben Stühle) represented the rights of the Kronstadt clergy before the king. That the Nationsuniversität saw itself as the patron of the churches on the *fundus regius* became clear in 1516, when it refused to recognize the formal placement of the Kronstadt and Hermannstadt chapters under the jurisdiction of the Esztergom archbishop.[19] This resistance was not successful, since

[16] Gündisch, "Entstehung der Nationsuniversität," 89.

[17] For this paragraph cf. Walter Daugsch, "Die Nationsuniversität der Siebenbürger Sachsen im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," in Kessler, *Gruppenautonomie in Siebenbürgen*, 179–216, especially 197–203. See also Walter Daugsch, "Toleranz im Fürstentum Siebenbürgen. Politische und gesellschaftliche Voraussetzungen der Religionsgesetzgebung im 16. Jahrhundert," *Kirche im Osten* 26 (1983), 35–72.

[18] Teutsch, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche*, vol. 1, 172.

[19] Georg Eduard Müller, *Die sächsische Nationsuniversität in Siebenbürgen. Ihre verfassungs- und verwaltungsrechtliche Entwicklung 1224–1876. Ein rechtsgeschicht-*

the Hungarian primate had canonical law on his side,[20] but the self-assertion of the Nationsuniversität was apparent even before the Reformation, as it proceeded on behalf of the Saxon churches against the will of the pope. Apparently all of the churches' dignitaries (and not only in the exempt areas) considered the Nationsuniversität to be their protecting authority; in 1520 the Saxon clergy of the Transylvanian bishopric of Gyulafehérvár also called on the political body to help them in a legal dispute with their own bishop.[21] In general, what shines through these events is a certain pre-Reformation tendency toward autonomy on the part of the Transylvanian-Saxon Church, which results largely from interaction with the Nationsuniversität.[22]

The Ottoman Empire and Hungary in the 15th and 16th Centuries

With Suleiman I's accession to the throne in 1520, the Ottoman Empire approached its political and economic pinnacle.[23] Thanks to the campaigns and conquests of his predecessors Bayezit II and Selim I, Suleiman inherited a strategically strong position; in Egypt the Mameluk dynasty had been extinguished and the Safawid Empire in Persia had been shown its limits. After Bayezit's victory over Venice, the newly assembled Ottoman fleet challenged the Spanish Habsburgs and France in the western Mediterranean and ended the Portuguese blockade in the seas to the east of the Ottoman Empire. North of the Danube, Suleiman's most important adversaries were the Habsburg Empire and Hungary.

Ottoman troops had first penetrated the eastern part of the Kingdom of Hungary (Transylvania) in 1395, after the Hungarians, under Sigismund of Luxemburg, failed in their attempt to check the growing Ottoman influence south of the Hungarian border, in the area between

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licher Beitrag zur Geschichte der ältesten organisierten Minderheit der Gegenwart (Hermannstadt, 1928), 97f.

[20] Papal bulls from the years 1512 and 1513 foresaw an annexation.

[21] Müller, *Die sächsische Nationsuniversität*, 98.

[22] Konrad Gündisch, "Die 'Geistliche Universität' der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Kirchengemeinden im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert," in Leppin, *Konfessionsbildung und Konfessionskultur*, 105–113; Ludwig Binder, "Geistliche und Weltliche Universität," in Kessler, *Gruppenautonomie in Siebenbürgen*, 45–60.

[23] Cf. Stanford Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey. Vol I: Empire of the Gazis: The Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge, 1976), 87f.

Transylvania in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. Map by Kjell Helge Sjøstrøm, adapted, by permission, from Harald Roth, *Kleine Geschichte Siebenbürgens* (Cologne, 1996), 26

the Southern Carpathians and the Danube.[24] A year later, Sigismund, leading a combined army of Hungarian and West-European knights and Balkan freedom fighters, suffered a devastating defeat near Nicopolis. In the first half of the 15th century the southern areas of Transylvania were the target of repeated incursions by Ottoman contingents: in 1420 the county of Hunyad, in 1421 the Burzenland and the Făgăraş region, in 1432 parts of the southern Königsboden as well as the Szekler territory, in 1438 again Hunyad and Mühlbach, Gyulafehérvár and Kokelburg, while Hermannstadt was able to withstand an eight-day siege.

The rapid succession and increasing strength of the attacks indicated that the Ottomans were no longer interested merely in securing what they had already conquered on the Balkan Peninsula; they had longer-range plans to expand into Hungary. Therefore, the Jagiellonian king Wladislaus (Ulászló) I, who ascended the Hungarian throne after the unexpected death of Albrecht von Habsburg, began his reign by re-organizing the country's defenses. He named János Hunyadi voivode of Transylvania (beside Miklós Újlaki) and made him responsible for the defense of the eastern part of the kingdom's southern border. Hunyadi not only prevented the Ottomans from advancing into Transylvania (1442) but also fought them in several campaigns in the Balkans. More than a quarter of a century would pass before the next large Ottoman attack on Transylvania: In 1479 Ali Beg's forces invaded the Burzenland as well as Mühlbach and Gyulafehérvár, but in the end they were decisively defeated by the then Transylvanian voivode, István Báthori. The Ottomans made two further incursions in 1493, mainly into the territories of the Königsboden.

The Battle of Mohács and Its Consequences

In 1526 the Sublime Porte decided that the time had come to put an end to the skirmishes and rivalries with the Kingdom of Hungary, which had been going on since the 14th century. During the reign of the Jagiellonian Lajos II (1516–1526), the situation had come to a head on several fronts. In Serbia and Croatia the two powers vied for the upper hand, as the Hungarians tried to piece together a network of alliances, reaching all the way to Persia, that might hold the Ottomans

[24] Köpeczi, *Erdély története*, vol. 1, 351f.

within bounds for good. Finally, on 29 August 1526, the Hungarian forces faced a numerically far superior enemy at Mohács[25] and suffered an annihilating defeat, in which three quarters of the army—including the king, numerous members of the high nobility, the archbishops of Esztergom and Kalocsa, and five other bishops—perished on the battlefield.

The Sublime Porte, following its almost customary practice, refrained at first from occupying the country,[26] and that same year two new Hungarian kings were crowned: in December in Pozsony (Pressburg, Bratislava) archduke Ferdinand von Habsburg, the brother-in-law of Lajos II and brother to Emperor Charles V, who considered himself the only legitimate heir because of the succession agreements signed in 1491, 1507 and 1515 between the Habsburg Empire and the Kingdom of Hungary; one month earlier in Székesfehérvár János Szapolyai, since 1510 the voivode of Transylvania, who was supported by the Hungarian nobility. A war of succession broke out, in which Szapolyai received support from the Sultan, while the military advantage shifted back and forth between the two sides. On 24 February 1538 Ferdinand and Szapolyai sealed a secret agreement in Nagyvárad: Szapolyai would keep Transylvania and parts of eastern Hungary, and in exchange Ferdinand would rule all of Hungary after Szapolyai's death. However, when Szapolyai died in 1540, his son, only weeks old at the time, was crowned king by the Hungarian estates. The infant king János II Zsigmond Szapolyai was subsequently taken under protection by the Sultan. In 1541 the Ottomans marched against Hungary again and incorporated Buda and the central part of the Kingdom of Hungary into the Ottoman Empire. Now Ferdinand ruled western and northern

[25] For more on the historical developments in Hungary around the battle of Mohács see Zsigmond Pál Pach and Ágnes R. Várkonyi (eds.), *Magyarország története (1526–1686)* [History of Hungary (1526–1686)], vol. 3/1–2, (Budapest, 1987); Péter F. Sugár, *Southeastern Europe Under Ottoman Rule, 1354–1894* (London, 1977), 142–167.

[26] On the customary practices of the Ottomans after their conquests on the Balkan Peninsula see Cristina Feneşan, *Constituirea principatului autonom al Transilvaniei* [The Formation of the Autonomous Principality of Transylvania] (Bucharest, 1997), 28–38, as well as Ferenc Szakály, "Der Wandel Ungarns in der Türkenzeit," in Andreas Tietze (ed.), *Habsburgisch-osmanische Beziehungen* (Vienna, 1985), 35–54, here 39. Cf. to this section Feneşan, *Constituirea*, 26f.; on the political history of Transylvania see also Gerald Volkmer, *Das Fürstentum Siebenbürgen 1541–1691. Aussenpolitik und völkerrechtliche Stellung* (Kronstadt, 2002).

Hungary, while János II Zsigmond kept Transylvania and some of its neighboring territories to the west.[27]

The Beginnings of the New State: Economic and Social Perspectives

In its first years the newly created state structure was shaped by multiple factors, whose effects on political (both domestic and external), economic, and social development should be outlined briefly.[28] The Ottoman annexations of the 1540s and 1550s resulted in enduring unrest in Transylvania's western borderlands. Skirmishes were an everyday occurrence, although no sizeable military campaigns were mounted. Troops from Hungarian and Transylvanian fortresses along the border intermittently maintained control over the neighboring lost territories, while Turkish contingents regularly conducted raids eastward from the lands held by the Ottomans. All this had the effect that, in an increasingly broad strip of land, the inhabitants were obliged to pay taxes and levies to two separate and warring authorities.[29] Furthermore, the three-way partition of the former Kingdom of Hungary brought with it the creation of new customs boundaries. Royal (western and northern) Hungary, the Ottoman-occupied area (in the center), and the Principality of Transylvania (in the east) all erected toll stations, so that peddlers, say between Italy and Transylvania, now had to pay

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[27] A few approximate statistics to indicate areas and populations: The Principality of Transylvania, whose borders often shifted during its 150–year history, covered 112,500 km^2 at the time of its maximum area, the central-Hungarian Ottoman province totaled about 91,250 km^2, and Habsburg Hungary is estimated at 67,500 km^2. See Walter Daugsch, "Siebenbürgen im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," *Siebenbürgische Semesterblätter* 3/1 (1989), 16–24, here 16. The population of inner Transylvania at the end of the 16th century was approximately 665,000 inhabitants, while about 300,000 people lived in the Partium (the territories in Eastern Hungary that belonged to the Principality). See Béla Köpeczi et al. (eds.), *Kurze Geschichte Siebenbürgens,* (Budapest, 1990), 243–301, here 269; cf. Volkmer, *Das Fürstentum Siebenbürgen,* 28.

[28] Following Köpeczi, *Erdély története*, vol. 1, 454f. For a general assessment of the contemporary economic and social-historical developments, including the effects on East-Central Europe, see Zsigmond Pál Pach, *Nyugat-európai és magyarországi agrárfejlődés a XV.–XVII században* [The Development of Agriculture in Western Europe and in Hungary in the 15th–17th Centuries] (Budapest, 1963).

[29] In the beginning of the 1550s, more than half of the households in Bihar county that were obliged to pay levies to the Transylvanian authority payed them to the Turkish side too. For more on this system of double taxation see Ferenc Szakály, *Magyar adóztatás a török hódoltságban* [Hungarian Taxation in the Turkish-occupied Territories] (Budapest, 1981).

import duties at two newly established borders. It is not surprising that these factors affected the external trade of the Principality. Trade traffic to Vienna decreased across the occupied territories at the same time that connections (via Kolozsvár) to Kassa (Košice) and Kraków were intensified. To the south and east as well the situation became increasingly difficult, especially in 1568 when the Porte stipulated that the two Danubian principalities export their most important products exclusively to the Ottoman Empire, and thereby significantly limited their longstanding trade relations with the Transylvanian-Saxon towns.[30] A glance at the Transylvanian mining industry suggests the increasing economic isolation in the first decades of the Principality as well. Where in the 1520s the Fuggers (the powerful entrepreneurial family from Augsburg)[31] leased a string of salt mines in Transylvania, in the following years the interest of foreign investors in Transylvanian mines (for salt, gold, and non-ferrous metals) gradually declined. From 1541 on, only local operators with limited capital were involved in exploiting the resources, and even princely intervention did little to alter the situation. Of course, in addition to regional developments, world economic factors played a role in the economic activity in the Principality. The economic exploitation of the newly opened transatlantic areas and the expansion of maritime trade routes to Asia must be mentioned in this connection. As the circulation of goods and raw materials increased by leaps and bounds in Western Europe, the cities there grew proportionately and with them their demand for food. Demand grew

[30] For examples of the quantities of goods and materials that were imported by the cities of Bistritz, Kronstadt, and Hermannstadt see Köpeczi, *Erdély története,* vol. 1, 456. For the economic relations between Transylvania and the Danube principalities see Nicolae Nistor, "Wirtschaftsbeziehungen zwischen Südsiebenbürgen und der Walachei während des 15.–17. Jahrhunderts," *Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde* 14 (1971), 43–50; Radu Manolescu, *Comerţul Ţării Româneşti şi Moldovei cu Braşovul în secolele XIV–XVI* [The Trade of Wallachia and Moldavia with Kronstadt in the 14th to 16th Centuries] (Bucharest, 1965). For an earlier period see Samuil Goldenberg, "Die Rolle der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Städte in den Handelsbeziehungen zur Moldau und Walachei im Mittelalter," in Paul Philippi (ed.), *Siebenbürgen als Beispiel europäischen Kulturaustausches* (Cologne, 1975), 11–18.

[31] Gustav Gündisch, "Die siebenbürgische Unternehmung der Fugger 1528–1531," in *Omagiu Ioan Lupaş* [Festschrift Ioan Lupaş] (Bucharest, 1941), 317–334; reprinted in Gustav Gündisch, *Aus Geschichte und Kultur der Siebenbürger Sachsen* (Cologne, 1987), 149–166. The detailed contract between Hans Fugger and Ferdinand I was published in Gusztáv Wenzel, *A Fuggerek jelentősége Magyarország történetében* [The Significance of the Fuggers in the History of Hungary] (Budapest, 1883), 160–166.

The citadel Törzburg, built in the 14th century by the town of Kronstadt on the pass road connecting the Burzenland to Wallachia (Engraving by G. M. Kurz, after a drawing by L. Rohbock. Courtesy of the Siebenbürgisches Museum Gundelsheim)

correspondingly for the products of East-Central Europe; Polish grain and Hungarian cattle brought high prices on the European markets. With its generally undeveloped agriculture and its mines no longer competitive, Transylvania could not participate in this economic boom. Overall, the Principality's foreign trade balance remained negative in the middle of the 16th century.[32]

Even after the decline in foreign trade, the Transylvanian-Saxon towns, whose social structure was quite modern (patricians, merchants, tradesmen), remained wealthy, and their influence increased considerably in the new state. During the entire existence of the Principality, the elites of town society were also the leaders of the *natio Saxonica*, though the majority of this estate belonged to the rural population as freemen. Economically as well the towns and the whole Königsboden were an important source of tax revenue for the state's coffers. The economic

[32] Vera Zimányi, *Economy and Society in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Hungary (1526–1650)* (Budapest, 1987). On the effects of world economic developments on Transylvania see also David Prodan, *Iobăgia în Transilvania în secolul al XVI-lea* [Serfdom in Transylvania in the 16th Century], 2 vols. (Bucharest, 1967–68).

development of the Transylvanian-Saxon towns was however held back by the limitations on foreign trade. The guilds and skilled labor in general did indeed continue to grow stronger, and they led a short-lived economic expansion in the 1530s and 1540s, against which backdrop (perhaps not totally by accident) such personalities of Saxon intellectual life as Honterus, Reicherstorffer, and others could thrive. In the ensuing years, however, a relative economic and social stagnation began, in no small part brought about by domestic political developments, but also by self-imposed and state-sanctioned economic policies.[33]

At the other end of the social scale, the landless peasantry of Transylvania during the time under study constituted a decidedly multilayered segment of the population, roughly sketched here for classification purposes: The inhabitants of the small Hungarian market settlements east of the Tisza were among those in the top stratum of this segment. Next came the copyholders (telkes jobbágy); the freeholders (szabados, *libertinus*), and the cotters (zsellér, *inquilinus*).[34] While copyholders were defined by their varying rights to parcels of land, which they could farm for sustenance and profit, the *libertini* were a heterogeneous group, including servants who had advanced in the service of their masters, as well as families that plied important professions (fisherman, butchers, etc.) and village and county leaders. The cotters, too, were quite varied, comprising the landless poor and new settlers, but also those who by choice declined to work the land, peddlers, and tradesmen, as well as teachers in the service of land owners or living in territorial cities, and other intellectuals (*literati*). The array of levies and burdens of service imposed on all of them by the state and the landown-

[33] The negligible increase in population in the most important Transylvanian towns in the 16th century would seem to be a useful indicator of this stagnation (despite the restrictive settlement policy): Kronstadt c. 7000 inhabitants at the beginning of the 16th century, c. 8–9000 around the year 1600; Hermannstadt c. 6000, Bistritz c. 4000 inhabitants around the year 1600. Schässburg and Mediasch had c. 2500 inhabitants around 1600. Kolozsvár experienced a somewhat different development. Cf. Köpeczi, *Erdély története*, vol. 1, 462f.; 471f.

[34] On Transylvania's peasants see the same work, 482–492, here 483. For an extensive discussion see David Prodan, *Iobăgia în Transilvania în secolul al XVI-lea*, and for the 17th century: David Prodan, *Iobăgia în Transilvania în secolul al XVII-lea* [Serfdom in Transylvania in the 17th Century], 2 vols. (Bucharest, 1986–1987). The following works include Transylvanian developments: János Varga, *Jobbágyrendszer a magyarországi feudalizmus kései századaiban* [The System of Serfdom in the Late Centuries of Feudalism in Hungary, 1556–1767] (Budapest, 1969); István Szabó, *A magyar mezőgazdaság története a XIV. századtól az 1530–as évekig* [The History of Hungarian Agriculture from the 14th Century to the 1530s] (Budapest, 1975).

ers was very diverse, including a tax assessed for the whole village and then divided by the sheriff into obligations for the individual families; dues paid directly to the landowner; and tithes to the Church (after 1542 to the state). Unpaid labor (corvée) was not uniform, either, and the rules changed significantly over the years. Service in the mines and in wars should also be mentioned. Due to steady increases in these levies and burdens of service, the living conditions of simple Transylvanian serfs deteriorated, especially after the 1550s, and their dependency on the landlord increased sharply. In general the Transylvanian unlanded peasantry was a politically ignored factor in the decades around the founding of the new state. Even during the Reformation such former market settlements as Dés, Torda, and Marosvásárhely, now grown to provincial towns, would play a secondary role.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE REFORMATION: STAGES AND PROCESSES

Prior to 1526

No one knows with certainty who first promulgated the Reformation in Transylvania or exactly how this new impulse entered the region, but the lively trade and high degree of mobility of the Transylvanian-Saxon merchants, as well as their close connections with the German territories of the Holy Roman Empire all but predestined them to become the harbingers of religious renewal. Merchants from Hermannstadt attended the Leipzig trade fair of 1519, and the ideas of the Reformation most likely traveled with them back to Transylvania.[1] The exact occurrences that prepared the way for the Reformation are not well reported. However, the German-speaking towns of southern Transylvania crystallized early into regional focal points of the processes of church reform. Moreover, in the 1520s, a number of political and religious leaders are known to have been sympathetic to the new ideas.

A letter of 9 March 1524 from Lajos II to the Hermannstadt town council offers clear evidence that Lutheran teachings were circulating in Transylvania:

> The king was displeased that the writings of Luther, who had been excommunicated by the Apostolic Seat, were known and followed throughout the territory of the Hermannstadt chapter and further, that the citizens of the town bought and sold these writings, which contradicted the truth and had been condemned by the highest authority. The town council should therefore order that in all towns and villages Luther's writings be sought out and burned, and should make known that anyone involving himself with Luther's teachings shall lose his property.[2]

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[1] This account of the very beginnings of Protestantism in Transylvania follows that of Reinerth, *Die Gründung der evangelischen Kirchen*, 8f.; see also Zach, "Zur Geschichte der Konfessionen," 59.

[2] The Latin text is printed in Vincenc Bunyitai (ed.), *Monumenta ecclesiastica tempora innovatae in Hungaria religionis illustrantia*, 5 vols. (Budapest, 1902–1912), here vol. 1, 123f. Reinerth, in *Die Gründung der evangelischen Kirchen*, 20, offers the following assessment: "This edict represents the earliest attestation by the state of Lutheran

Another royal missive (written two days later to the vicar general of the archbishop of Esztergom), in which Lajos II opposes the harsh punishment of two unnamed priests from Hermannstadt, has been interpreted as an indication of Reformation activity in Transylvania, which the royal court did not always rigorously prosecute and suppress.[3]

Edicts and letters by the Esztergom archbishop are among the most important sources on the beginnings of the Reformation in Transylvania. The edict dated 15 August 1524 shows the regional dissemination of the new ideas, which were not limited to the area around Hermannstadt but had spread to Kronstadt and the Burzenland as well. The letter of archbishop László Szalkai (1524–1526) to the chapters of Hermannstadt and the Burzenland, which were under his immediate jurisdiction, offers a quite detailed depiction of the situation. In addition to the propagation of Lutheran writings, the church leader reprehended the composition and singing of derisive songs,[4] contempt

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theories, doctrine, and ideas permeating into the Transylvanian Church." He also points out that, despite its sharp tone, this edict threatens only the burning of books and not the loss of life, unlike earlier ones: Already in April 1523 the Hungarian Diet had decided to have followers of Luther punished with death and the confiscation of their property.

[3] Cf. Roth, *Die Reformation in Siebenbürgen*, vol. 1, 14f.

[4] Of the no doubt numerous derisive songs and poems produced anonymously in Latin, two remain: "Papist sect, you wretched people! / Look into yourselves and cast off your sins! / The fields are now green, the flowers are blooming, / And words full of meaning pour into the world. / The Anti-Christ's minion, to divinity blind, / Even a child sees how shamefully you've abandoned God, / Oppressing the faithful, with no trace of the Holy Ghost, / Thus the sin punishes you in that you see and yet see not. / Woe to the shorn and undignified dignitaries! / Your gifts flow from loot, stolen from others. / Woe to thee, Supreme Leader, in thy purchased office! / Wouldst not read the Bible, nor search therein, / Being not a true shepherd that doth tend the flocks / thou shearst thy sheep of their own wool, / And thy swindle and swag, thy vile profit, / is gobbled in thy house by harlots. / If only thou wert a servant of the divine Lord, / Thou'dst see in the others thy office and care, / Wouldst thou with Luther's comrades unite, / thou couldst, satyr, rein thyself in.—/ Leave off from this blindness, from show and deceit, / Disgust and filth sweep out from thy heart! / New life springs forth, hope is budding, / Now full of blessing, it storms toward its magnificent goal." Excerpted and translated from Adolf Schullerus's German translation "Die Klageschrift des Hermannstädter Kapitels vom Jahre 1526," *Kirchliche Blätter* 8 (1918), 63–65, here 64; cf. Sienerth, *Geschichte der siebenbürgisch-deutschen Literatur*, 136. Apparently the text is directed against Hermannstadt's town pastor Martin Huet. The presumed author is Johann Mild, rector of the Hermannstadt school, known for his Lutheran inclinations. The second abusive song is even more explicit and aggressive: "You fat little monks, all stuffed with your prebends / Keep gorging yourselves! We'll soon turn you out! / What good are your cassocks, your dear Pope's commands? / We fellows of Luther contemn you indeed. / Truth craves the daylight, papacy's waning / Crawl off, little padres, keep still in your hole!" In: ibid., 137f.

for the laws of fasting and rules for confession, and defiance of the Church's jurisdiction. At the same time, two royal emissaries traveled to Hermannstadt to carry out the archbishop's edict, apparently with some measure of success.[5] A further correspondence is known from the Transylvanian bishop János Gosztonyi, who resided in Gyulafehérvár but was not responsible for the adjacent chapters of Hermannstadt or Kronstadt, to the mayor of Hermannstadt, in which he, too, warned of Reformation activity, obviously fearing that the movement might spill over into his own diocese.

In June 1526 leading Transylvanian clerics addressed a letter to the archbishop of Esztergom. The authors of the text, which is now known as the "Plaint of the Hermannstadt Chapter,"[6] were Petrus Thonhäuser and Wolfgang Flaschner, the pastors of Grossscheuern and Heltau respectively, who as alternating deans of the chapter (hence as vicars of the archbishop of Esztergom),[7] reported to their ecclesiastic superior on disturbing occurrences in Hermannstadt. The letter complained of the growing influence of the Lutheran teaching, especially among the merchants, and of the increased support that the new teaching was receiving from local political leaders. Among the indices of the town council's oppositional stance, according to the two pastors, was the fact that even in religious matters appeal was made to the secular and not to the church court. Weakening of the Church's authority, decline in attendance at mass, and assaults on clerics were only a few aspects of what they felt was a critical situation in their area.[8] In the letter, two prominent members of the town council stood out in receiving blame for the advancement of "Lutheran heresy." Councilman Johannes Hecht was said to have hosted meetings of the followers of the new teaching

[5] The commissioners were the royal chamberlain Gáspár Ráskai and the Ugocsa archdeacon, Miklós Gerendi. On this occasion, according to the commissioners' report, the pastor of Burgberg, Simon von Trappold, was compelled to renounce his Lutheran views.

[6] *Klageschrift des Hermannstädter Kapitels.* In: *Monumenta ecclesiastica*, vol. 1, 258–262.

[7] Along with Martin Huet, who was Hermannstadt's town pastor and provost with episcopal privileges, Flaschner and Thonhäuser belonged to the elite of the Transylvanian clergy.

[8] Further points include the following: physical assault of high officials; contempt for holy days of obligation; refusal to pay levies to the clergy. Thonhäuser and Flaschner also protest the conscription of clergy for military service and the misuse of the parsonage as a transient residence by high-level lay officials. The report concludes with some remarks on the state of affairs in the parish. Cf. Reinerth, *Die Gründung der evangelischen Kirchen*, 13f.

in his home, and the royal judge and Saxon count Markus Pemfflinger was accused of being particularly responsible for the conditions in Hermannstadt. That these two names should appear in the Plaint was not surprising, for the two men already had a history of being much less than fully compliant with the Church. Hecht had married for the second time a few years earlier, but the marriage was disputed in church court,[9] at which point he appealed to the archbishop. It appears probable that the drawn-out legal process and the rigid clerical legal system contributed decisively to Hecht's anti-Church bearing.[10] Pemfflinger's name as well appeared in at least two documents from the years 1525–26, both of which indicate that he was sympathetic to the new movement. He arranged a mild punishment for the Mediasch cleric Johannes Clementis, who was accused of (among other things) spreading the "Lutheran heresy."[11] The same Pemfflinger was the addressee of a letter by Lajos II dated 19 July 1526, just a few weeks before the Battle of Mohács. The king criticized him for not proceeding with adequate vigor against the religious innovators and threatened him with the loss of his office and of his property.[12] Several clerics are known to have disturbed the higher authorities of the Church during theses years by giving objectionable sermons; a Dominican named Georgius,

[9] The hearing took place in April 1523 at the official residence of the pastor of Grossscheuern, Petrus Thonhäuser, a childhood friend of Hecht.

[10] For a detailed description of the proceedings see Johannes Höchsmann, "Siebenbürgische Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation," *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 36 (1909), 179–239, here 199f.

[11] Johannes Clementis of Mediasch was accused of Lutheran heresy and several other serious crimes (rape, fornication, derision of church rules, etc.). In the records of the witnesses' testimony the Lutheran heresy is listed as the first point, but this page is otherwise blank, "apparently because nothing definite could be proved, perhaps its [the Lutheran heresy's] nature and form where not at all clear enough. It thus appears that they wanted to brand this 'criminal in a priest's clothes' as a Lutheran in order to prove a cautionary example to the faithful." In: Reinerth, *Die Gründung der evangelischen Kirchen,* 11. The offical documents are printed in *Monumenta ecclesiastica*, vol. 1, 215, 218f., 223f.

[12] It is of course highly unlikely that the king would have dispossessed the disobedient count; the Pemfflingers, whose family home was in Regensburg, were well thought of at the royal court and, on the recommendation of Queen Maria (sister of Charles V and Ferdinand I), herself leaning toward Protestantism, Markus Pemfflinger would become, after the Battle of Mohács, one of Ferdinand's closest allies in carrying out his policies directed against János I Szapolyai. Pemfflinger, whose possessions and offices made him one of the richest men in Transylvania, also became one of Ferdinand's most important financial supporters. See Roderich Goos, *Die Siebenbürger Sachsen in der Planung deutscher Südostpolitik* (Vienna, 1940), 348; cf. Oskar Wittstock, *Johannes Honterus. Der Siebenbürger Humanist und Reformator* (Göttingen, 1970), 57.

who was influenced by Wittenberg ideas,[13] and two itinerant preachers, Ambrosius the Schlesian and Konrad Weich. Georgius was identified in the Plaint, together with the assertion that he had given sermons in the smaller churches of Hermannstadt without the permission of the town pastor, and had thus incited the people.

After the Battle of Mohács

On 25 January 1527, only a few months after his coronation, János I Szapolyai issued an edict in which he threatened the followers of Lutheran doctrine in his realm with imprisonment and confiscation of their property, and he also expressed his intent of having another clerical commission sent to Hermannstadt. His rival was also a sworn enemy of the religious reform movement. On 20 August 1527, the day after he arrived in Buda, Ferdinand issued a sharply worded decree against the followers of the Reformation. Nevertheless the movement made further progress, as indicated by the demand of Hermannstadt's municipal council in February 1529, that the Dominican monks leave town. In that same year the prior of the Dominican monastery in Schässburg, too, expressed apprehension about the spread of Lutheran doctrine. He is reported to have said that people were ignoring the commandments to fast and were persecuting the servants of God (*famulos Domini persequentes*). The prior mentioned Hermannstadt explicitly as an example and anticipated the same dangers for his convent.[14]

[13] In 1522–23 three Transylvanian Saxons were registered at the University of Wittenberg: Johannes Kousch, Valentinus Haltrich (both of them presumably from Regen), and Johannes Bontzler (from Schässburg). Several other Transylvanian Saxons studying at Wittenberg in the following years would later be among the most eminent clerics of Transylvania: Valentin Wagner, Kaspar Helth (Gáspár Heltai), Matthias Fronius (author of the *Eigenlandrecht*), Michael Fleischer, Albert Cerasinus (Kirschner) (both town pastors of Bistritz), Mathias Glatz, Ferenc Dávid, Titus Amicinus, Lukas Ungleich, and others. Cf. Schuller, *Der siebenbürgisch-sächsische Pfarrer*, 25f.

[14] *Monumenta ecclesiastica*, vol. 1, 436; 491f. Cf. Reinerth, *Die Gründung der evangelischen Kirchen,* 30f.

The Principality of Transylvania after the Battle of Mohács. Map by Kjell Helge Sjøstrøm, adapted, by permission, from Roth, *Kleine Geschichte Siebenbürgens*, 46.

Reformation on the Lands of the Margrave Georg von Brandenburg

On the lands in the counties of Hunyad and Haţeg belonging to the German margrave Georg von Brandenburg, who was in the service of the king of Hungary, a number of Romanian peasants came under the influence of Lutheran ideas as well, probably already before 1526.[15] The propagation of the teachings occurred through the margrave's liegemen, who also came from the Holy Roman Empire. One of these is known by name: Georg Stolz, from 1526 to 1530 the castellan of Hunyad, who in October 1526—in a letter from a Catholic investigatory committee to the bishop of Gyulafehérvár, János Gosztonyi—was accused of recruiting followers from among the Wallachians (Romanians) on the lands he controlled.[16] It is to these Romanians that Melanchthon referred in a letter from the year 1529, when he expressed his joy that the Reformation had spread "to the Wallachians."[17] After the lands of the margrave changed hands, the Romanians in the region, who had been receptive to Lutheranism, would gradually come under the influence of Calvinism, with which the subsequent, Hungarian land-owners sympathized.[18]

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[15] For this paragraph see Krista Zach, *Orthodoxe Kirche*, 159f. On the Lutheran Reformation and its repercussions among Transylvania's Romanians, see also Ştefan Meteş, *Istoria bisericii şi a vieţii religioase a românilor din Ardeal şi Ungaria, I. Pînă la 1700* [History of the Church and the Religious Lives of the Romanians in Transylvania and Hungary. Vol. 1: Up to 1799] (Arad, 1918), 72; Cesare Alzati, *Terra Romena tra Oriente e Occidente. Chiese ed etnie nel tardo '500* (Milan, 1981), 102–105; Imre Révész, *La Réforme et les Roumains de Transylvanie* (Budapest, 1937). Cf. Radu Mârza, "Die Orthodoxe Kirche der Rumänen aus Siebenbürgen: Konfession und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert," in Leppin, *Konfessionsbildung und Konfessionskultur*, 179–190.

[16] Iosif Pataki, *Domeniul Hunedoara la începutul secolului al XVI-lea* [The Manor Property Hunedoara/Hunyad at the Beginning of the 16th Century] (Bucharest, 1973), 30; Paul Binder, "Începuturile Reformei în Transilvania şi românii din Hunedoara [The Beginnings of the Reformation in Transylvania and the Romanians from Hunedoara]," *Limba română* 20/3 (1971), 273–275; Richard Klier, "Dr. med. Johann Weinmann, Rat und Gesandter des Markgrafen Georg von Brandenburg in Ungarn," *Südost-Forschungen* 29 (1970), 270–289, here 272.

[17] Ion Gheţie, "Consideraţii filologice şi lingvistice asupra Evangheliarului de la Petersburg [Philological and Linguistic Reflections on the Petersburg Book of Gospels]," *Studii şi cercetări lingvistice* 17/1 (1966), 47–79, here 77.

[18] Bernhard Capesius, "Der Hermannstädter Humanist Georg Reicherstorffer," *Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde* 10/1 (1967), 35–62, here 42; Pataki, *Domeniul Hunedoara*, 32–34; Franz Pall, "Fragen der Renaissance und der Reformation in der Geschichte Rumäniens," *Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde* 9/2 (1966), 5–26, here 16.

Szapolyai's Position

In his struggle against the House of Habsburg at the end of the 1520s, János I Szapolyai did not make use of the increasingly sharp "weapon of the Reformation" by encouraging, for instance, its importation into his dominion.[19] This was most likely due at least in part to his and his collaborators' genuine Catholicism. However, the strategic power-plays of the time reveal other possible reasons with further-reaching significance. While Ferdinand's followers, in their fight against the Ottoman Empire and its allies, seized on the medieval idea of a united Christendom, a key element in the ideological arsenal of the Szapolyai party was the fundamentally anti-German attitude of the Hungarian nobility. By embracing a new church doctrine of German origin that had come to Hungary and Transylvania via German intermediaries, Szapolyai would have weakened the coalition of his supporters, which was hardly stable as it was. A further argument against supporting the Reformation was presented by Szapolyai's relations to Rome, or at least by the latter's antagonism to the Habsburgs; the Apostolic See at this time repeatedly opposed the Habsburgs, sometimes with arms. But then Szapolyai provoked the ire of the pope against himself when he decided to seek Ottoman support in 1529; his excommunication that same year may have been among the reasons that he appeared unwilling to take radical measures against the Reformation, as the conservative Transylvanian clergy expected him to do.[20] Szapolyai did not, however, go so far as to turn away from the Catholic faith. It may well have appeared unwise to the rulers of the land—in view of accusations that they had betrayed Christendom through their pact with the Ottomans—to loosen the traditional bonds with the Church and embrace a new and controversial teaching.

Seen in this light, the actions of János I Szapolyai at the Diet in Schässburg (1538) appear comprehensible and consistent. Instead of the tribunal on heresy that was demanded by the Catholic clergy, the ruler arranged a religious debate. The bishops of Nagyvárad, Gyulafehérvár and Eger (Martinuzzi, Statilius, and Frangipani) represented the Catholic side, while the moderators were the humanists Adrian Wolphard (vicar in Gyulafehérvár) and Márton Kálmáncsehi

[19] Cf. Köpeczi, *Erdély története,* vol. 1, 414.
[20] Fata, *Ungarn, das Reich der Stephanskrone*, 97.

(teacher at the Gyulafehérvár cathedral school). István Szántai from Kassa (Košice) spoke for the Lutherans, supported by other humanists (Verantius, Jekel, Renezei) present in Schässburg. At the end of the animated discussions, Szapolyai did not accede to the Catholics' demand that Szántai be condemned, but neither did the king openly declare support for Szántai's Protestant views. He did, however, see to it that Szántai receive an escort and return to his hometown unmolested.[21]

Further Developments

Lengthy polemics against Lutherans (and thus further evidence of the increasing spread of the Reformation) can be found in the *Mediasch Book of Sermons* (1536/37).[22] The volume is named for the town where it was discovered in 1862, and its sermons reveal a theological position that corresponds exactly to that of Transylvanian missals, hymns, and songs to the Virgin of the 14th and 15th century. The sermons focus on the cult of Mary and on Christology. As is the case in earlier liturgical texts, the figure of Mary receives a poetically exalted depiction, while the significance and position of the Church as an institution of salvation is stressed in the most explicit terms. The collection's texts focus mainly on dogmatics. Ethical issues, on the other hand, appear almost exclusively in the form of "scholastic-conceptual dissection." The author of the texts was probably Thomas von Birthälm (Thomas de Byrthalom), head of the Franciscan monastery at Weisskirch.[23]

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[21] The religious debate at Schässburg most likely took place in March 1538. The surviving reports are of considerably later date and from a decidedly Protestant perspective. Among them is Helth/Heltai's report, printed by Karl Fabritius in "Das Religionsgespräch zu Schässburg im Jahre 1538 und des Weissenburger Probstes Anton Verantius Briefe an Siebenbürger Sachsen," *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 10 (1872), 233–263, here 244–250. Another eloquent witness of the debate was Andreas Scherer of Hermannstadt. Cf. Reinerth, *Die Gründung der evangelischen Kirchen*, 39; Binder, *Grundlagen und Formen der Toleranz*, 24f.

[22] Cf. Sienerth, *Geschichte der siebenbürgisch-deutschen Literatur*, 173f.

[23] Adolf Schullerus, "Das Mediascher Predigtbuch," *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 41 (1923), 5–161, here 37. Schullerus finds little in the texts that relates to everyday life, and only in the passages on the adoration of Mary does he perceive "a feeling of religious warmth." (ibid., 65). Admonition and moral guidance alternate with richly detailed lists of virtues and vices. Cf. ibid., 62; see also Sienerth, *Geschichte der siebenbürgisch-deutschen Literatur*, 174. Reinerth identifies the place indicated in the book with the name "Alba ecclesia" as Weisskirch near Schässburg, while other scholars have leaned toward Weisskirch near Bistritz or even Gyulafehérvár

Weisskirch near Schässburg (Engraving by F. Foltz, after a drawing by L. Rohbock. Courtesy of the Siebenbürgen-Institut Gundelsheim)

Overall, in the 1530s, a general self-restraint still reigned among the ranks of the leading Saxon clergy. Thus, when Matthias Ramser, a priest known for his sympathetic attitude toward the Reformation, was named in May 1536 as successor to the conservative Petrus Wol in the influential office—and the highly visible position—of Hermannstadt town pastor,[24] he was compelled to act with great caution and to denounce as crimes (*crimen*) the reform-minded advances of Johannes Lebel, the preacher in Hermannstadt's Hospitalskirche, who had distributed communion under both kinds in his church already before 1540.[25]

(Weissenburg) (cf. Schullerus, "Das Mediascher Predigtbuch," 154–155). The primary indications for Reinerth's choice of place (and thereby for the Franciscan as author) are the passages in the text praising monastic virtues and a special sermon dedicated to St. Francis. See Karl Reinerth, "Wer war der Verfasser des sogenannten 'Mediascher Predigtbuches?'," *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 3 (1971), 79f.

[24] Wol had succeeded the staunch Catholic Martin Huet. The connection between the result of the election and the end of Szapolyai's successful multi-year siege of Hermannstadt, which had until then been loyal to the Habsburgs, needs further examination.

[25] Written in response to an inquiry from the Kronstadt town council and dated 31 January 1531. Ramser's response can be found in Joseph Franz Trausch, *Beiträge und Aktenstücke zur Reformations-Geschichte von Kronstadt* (Kronstadt, 1865), 61f.

Preparing the Way for the Reformation in Kronstadt: Johannes Honterus

Kronstadt, the second largest community of Transylvanian Saxons, would lead the way in introducing the Reformation to the region.[26] As far as the town pastors are concerned, the developments of the 1530s in Kronstadt ran a course similar to what had happened in Hermannstadt: In 1536 Jeremias Jekel was elected to this office, a man who was very open to the new teachings. Some members of the town council, too, were well disposed toward the Reformation, among them Johannes Fuchs, who had visited Augsburg in 1530, shortly before the proclamation of the Lutheran confession, and had possibly been exposed to strong Lutheran influences there. Fuchs's misson in Augsburg was to deliver a negative answer from the Transylvanian Saxons to Ferdinand's demand for support in his bid to take over Transylvania. It was Fuchs, too, who saw to it that a man was brought back from abroad who would play a central role in the further developments: Johannes Honterus.

> Johannes Honterus was born in Kronstadt in 1498. In addition to sending him to the town school, his father, a tanner, probably had him instructed by the Dominicans. In 1520 he matriculated in the liberal arts faculty at the University of Vienna, where he encountered humanistic ideas. Among his main interests were mathematics, astronomy, and geography, but also Greek, Latin, and law. In 1522 he earned the title of *Baccalaureus* and in 1525 that of *Magister*. Upon completing his studies Honterus returned to Kronstadt, where in the struggle between Szapolyai and Ferdinand he supported the latter. After the defeat at Marienburg (22 June 1529), Kronstadt went over to the side of Szapolyai, and Honterus left Transylvania. In 1529 he was in Regensburg, and on 1 March 1530 he matriculated at the University of Kraków. In Kraków he published a Latin grammar and the "Fundamentals of Cosmography." In 1531 Honterus went to Basel, where he attended the religious services of Oecolampadius until the latter's death in November 1531. The debate between Basel's Lutherans and Calvinists reached its peak while Honterus was in the town, and he sided with the Lutherans. He worked in printing houses as proofreader and type setter, and published several works in the next three years: a cosmography, star charts, a map of Transylvania, and an edition of the poems of the early Christian poet Claudius Claudianus. Honterus's work in Basel shows him to be more of a humanist than a theologian.[27]

[26] Cf. Reinerth, *Die Gründung der evangelischen Kirchen*, 68f.
[27] Cf. ibid., 46–59.

Johannes Honterus (Drawing by Chr. Clausnitzer. Courtesy of the Siebenbürgisches Museum Gundelsheim)

Honterus's presence in Kronstadt had become necessary through the rapid deterioration of the town's schools as a result of civil war and an epidemic of plague. The town council of Kronstadt asked him to return to his hometown, and Honterus followed this invitation in the summer of 1533. He took up his educational duties where he had already performed them from 1527 to 1529, in a school that he had founded and that, along with the Bartholomew school and the town

school, served the more advanced pupils. In the following years he expanded the library and, at the end of the 1530s, founded a printing house.[28] In 1539 he edited two works by Augustine ("Sentences" and the "Catalogue of Heretics"), for each of which he wrote a preface. Both of these forewords indicate Honterus's aim to contribute to a reform of the Church.[29]

The collaboration of secular and religious authorities in the Reformation between 1539 to 1541 in Kronstadt and in the surrounding Burzenland chapter can be illustrated by the contrasting positions of two prominent figures: Jeremias Jekel (Kronstadt's town pastor and dean of the chapter) and Johannes Honterus (member of the town council).[30] Honterus hoped for concessions from the Church and worked for its reform through his publications. Jekel, on the other hand, thought in 1539 that the time was ripe for decisive action and took the first steps on his own initiative by abolishing (among other things) the rules of fasting.[31] Honterus contested Jekel's decree in the name of the council. There were good reasons for him to do this: At the head of the council sat an influential, long-time opponent of the Reformation in the person of Lucas Hirscher, and Honterus appears to have thought that the reformers would need the support of the town council in order to succeed. At any rate, Jekel's actions had caused a stir and elicited the disapproval of the Transylvanian church leaders, as evident from a letter sent to Jekel by the capitular of the Gyulafehérvár cathedral (and future primate of Esztergom) Verantius on 7 March 1540.

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[28] From the start, Honterus had a good relationship with the town council, as shown by the steady stream of gifts and payments from the municipal coffers. In 1535 he resided briefly at the house of the town judge, Lucas Hirscher. In 1536 he was elected to the town council. See Ludwig Binder, *Johannes Honterus. Schriften, Briefe, Zeugnisse* (Bucharest, 1996), 31f.

[29] An analysis of the prefaces can be found in Reinerth, *Die Gründung der evangelischen Kirchen*, 69–83. Reinerth points out the emphasis that Honterus (following Erasmus) layed on the Scriptures as the sole guide for faith and action, starting from humanism's *ad fontes*-principle, as opposed to Luther, who starts with monasticism and a critique of the sacrament of penance.

[30] Ibid., 83f.

[31] Karl Kurt Klein, *Der Reformator und Humanist Johannes Honter* (Hermannstadt, 1935), 175f.

Martinuzzi. The First Decisions by the Diet

At the beginning of the fifth decade of the 16th century, the momentum toward reform of the Church was accelerated by processes at various levels: developments within the Catholic Church in Transylvania, religious debates in the German territories of the Holy Roman Empire, shifts in focus at the level of local politics, as well as parliamentary decisions.

One of the seeming paradoxes in the history of religions in Transylvania is that the breakthrough of the Reformation came at a time when the reins of government lay in the hands of a Catholic bishop. György Martinuzzi (Utiešenović), a Pauline monk of Croatian-Dalmatian descent, had been actively shaping Transylvania's foreign policy since 1537. In that year he was among the leading negotiators on the side of János I Szapolyai in the meetings with the emissaries of Ferdinand I, and the peace treaty of Nagyvárad signed by the two coronated kings of Hungary in 1538 was in no small part his accomplishment.[32] But the treaty was weakened by the ulterior motives with which it was crafted, and rapidly changing political constellations abroad made it worthless after only two years. When János I Szapolyai died in 1540, Martinuzzi himself went against the treaty's provisions in an attempt to ensure the unity and relative autonomy of the region; he arranged to have the deceased ruler's infant son, János Zsigmond, elected king in Buda in the summer of that year. A year later the Sublime Porte responded to an attack by Ferdinand's troops on Buda by occupying the capital (29 August 1541) and dividing the former Kingdom of Hungary into three parts.[33] Suleiman confirmed the hereditary right of János Zsigmond,

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[32] Martinuzzi, bishop of Nagyvárad, was a confidant of the king. In addition to his clerical office, he oversaw the state's finances. The peace treaty (24 February 1538), signed by representatives of János I Szapolyai, Ferdinand I, and Charles V, provided for the maintenance of the status quo and included the reciprocal acknowledgment of the two kings. Szapolyai further pledged that upon his death his land would come into possession of the House of Habsburg. Should an heir be born in the meantime, it was provided that the Habsburgs would establish a new dukedom for him in the Szepes region. Cf. (also regarding developments in foreign policy during these years) Köpeczi, *Erdély története*, vol. 1, 418f.

[33] Besides Transylvania, the other two parts were Central Hungary, which was placed under direct Ottoman rule, and the western (reaching more or less to Lake Balaton) and northern (reaching to present-day Slovakia) parts of the country, which remained in possession of the Habsburgs. For a discussion of the possible reasons for the delayed occupation of the country by the Ottomans, see Josef Matuz, "Der Verzicht Süleymans

and Transylvania became a principality under the suzerainty of—and tributary to—the Ottomans, governed at first by János Zsigmond's mother, Izabella, and her advisors. The Diet (at Marosvásárhely in January 1542) confirmed Martinuzzi as vicegerent, an office he held until his violent death in 1551.

The greater parts of the land now ruled by Martinuzzi lay outside his ecclesiastical jurisdiction as bishop of Várad.[34] In Gyulafehérvár, János Statileo (Statilius) occupied the office of bishop of Transylvania. His death in 1542 was a milestone in the history of religions in Transylvania, marking the beginning of a period of over 150 years during which the Catholic Church would have no leader of episcopal rank in the country, apart from some temporary appointments in transitional phases.[35] Already in 1541 Izabella and János II Zsigmond left Buda, which had become the capital of a vilayet (colonial province) under an Ottoman pasha. They stayed briefly at Lippa, but soon came to Transylvania at the invitation of the Diet. Gyulafehérvár became the new seat of the government and of the royal family, and vicegerent Martinuzzi moved into the bishop's palace. Since the extensive lands and other properties of the see (Gyulafehérvar, Diód, Almás, Gyalu, etc.) were confiscated in order to provide material support for the royal family, it is not surprising that a new Transylvanian bishop did not take office at the time, but no one could foresee that this was the beginning of a long vacancy.

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des Prächtigen auf die Annexion Ungarns," *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 6 (1974/75), 38–46. Cf. Ernst D. Petritsch, "Das Osmanische Reich und Siebenbürgen im Reformationszeitalter," in Leppin, *Konfessionsbildung und Konfessionskultur*, 15–23, here 16.

[34] Martinuzzis bishopric included the Partium. In addition to Transylvania, several counties of eastern Hungary belonged to the dominions of King János II Zsigmond Szapolyai. At first Szapolyai bore the title *rex electus* (elected king), but after the Treaty of Speyer in 1570 he became *princeps Transsylvaniae et partium regni Hungariae dominus* (Prince of Transylvania and ruler of a part of the Kingdom of Hungary). Thus these Hungarian counties came to be called the "Partium." A good recent overview of this topic and of the political institutions in Hungary and Transylvania can be found in Kubinyi, "Landesherr, Reichstag bzw. Landtag und Komitatsversammlungen," 81–94, here 83. The chapters of Hermannstadt and Kronstadt, which covered major parts of the Königsboden and where the inhabitants were overwhelmingly Transylvanian Saxons, did not belong to the bishopric of Transylvania but to the archbishopric of Esztergom.

[35] We know the names of some vicars appointed by Izabella: Petrus More, Adrian Wolphard, Ferenc Medgyesi. During the Habsburg occupation the emperor, exercising his right of partronage, named Pál Bornemisza bishop of Transylvania. Bornemisza, however, left the region in 1556. See Anton Szeredai, *Series antiquorum et recentiorum Episcoporum Transilvaniae* (Alba Carolina, 1790), 200–212. Cf. Zach, "Zur Geschichte der Konfessionen," 57.

Even if issues pertaining to religion were not taken up by the first, constitutive assemblies of the Diet,[36] some of them passed legislation of great significance for the development of religious affairs in the land. In addition to numerous other decrees, the representatives of the estates reconfirmed the Union of 1437/1458—now under the altered political circumstances in the Principality of Transylvania—and resolved as well that the affairs of the respective estates should be decided by estate assemblies (*congregatio, conflux, universitas*). Religious matters, too, would come in future under the heading of internal estate affairs and be settled in these assemblies.[37]

An analysis of the events just prior to the introduction of the Reformation in Transylvania is incomplete without at least a passing reference to developments in church politics in the German territories of the Holy Roman Empire. A vignette must suffice here: In 1540 and 1541 religious debates took place in Worms, Hagenau, and Regensburg, in the course of which the possibilities of a rapprochement between the theological positions of Protestants and Catholics were considered. These attempts were not totally without results, for in many a central question (for example on the issues of original sin or the teaching of justification) the respective positions were not all that far from each other. Although a partial consensus was reached on some points, the representatives of both sides (among them Melanchthon for the Wittenberg side, Eck for the Catholics) reached the conclusion that, in other important points (transubstantiation, confession, absolution, the papacy), the contradictions were not to be resolved. This meant there was no hope for a substantial compromise or any possibility of an interdenominational union. These religious debates and the theological

[36] A preliminary assembly at Debrecen on 18 October 1541, followed by sessions at Marosvásárhely on 20 January and at Torda at the end of March and on 20 December 1542.

[37] Cf. Binder, *Grundlagen und Formen der Toleranz*, 46.

Kronstadt. To the left, the parish church (built between 1383–1477); in the centre, the town hall (14th–15th ct.) (Detail of an engraving by L. Riegel, after a drawing by L. Rohbock. Courtesy of the Siebenbürgisches Museum Gundelsheim)

arguments presented in them were most probably followed with great interest in Transylvania, especially in Kronstadt.

Open Reformation in Kronstadt

The Breakthrough

In 1541 the annual election for the position of Kronstadt town judge was won by Johannes Fuchs, who in 1530 in Augsburg had probably come into early contact with the ideas of the Reformation, and who—along with other councilmen—became an active proponent of the Reformation in his own town.[38] After an initial period of caution and political deference, the situation eased in the course of 1541 to an extent that a

[38] The chronicle of the town organist Hieronymus Ostermayer eulogizes Johannes Fuchs on his death in 21 July 1550: "He carried out the duties of his office with great diligence so that the true religion and the Word of God should be furthered and held in devotion by learned people." From: *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen*, vol. 4, 509.

considerable number of the secular municipal authorities swung to an openly pro-Wittenberg line.[39] In April 1542 Valentin Wagner, who was later to become town pastor in Kronstadt, arrived at the University of Wittenberg with letters of recommendation from the town council. Johannes Honterus's final commitment to the Reformation also took place at this time, according to his biographers: The 1542 edition of his "Kosmographie" contains two—newly added—hexameters in which Kronstadt is described as the leading town in Europe in the propagation of the new direction.[40]

In concurrence with the direction taken by the secular authorities, the Burzenland chapter decided at a meeting on 25 September 1542 to introduce the Reformation in Kronstadt. On 3 October a Lutheran service was held in the town's Church of St. Mary (Marienkirche).[41] Developments in external politics and the resulting concerns for the town's security[42] delayed further reforming measures somewhat, but didn't render them less vigorous. At meetings of the regional body of the Burzenland political authority and of the Burzenland chapter

[39] The pastor of Kronstadt (and later of Leutschau), Bartholomäus Bogner, who had himself studied in Wittenberg, writes to Leonhard Stöckel of Bartfeld on 6 November 1541: "Religious matters in our town would have born more fruit of the purer teaching but for the fear that this would not be well received by those from whom we all must hope for aid against the machinations of the power-hungry and the domination by the Turks; meanwhile however the Word of God is proclaimed every day and already the purer teaching begins to blossom in people's hearts, a teaching that will hopefully spread over the whole world." In: Bunyitai, *Monumenta ecclesiastica*, vol. 3, 560. Quoted from Reinerth, *Die Gründung der evangelischen Kirchen*, 90–91; cf. to this paragraph ibid., 87–93.

[40] These lines were not yet included in the edition of 1541: "[…] praecipitique sitam sub monte Coronam, / quam primam Europae Christi documenta sequentem / Sol oriens radiis lustrat proprioribus urbem." From: Reinerth, ibid., 93. See also Paul Philippi, "Christi documenta sequi," in *Neue Beiträge zur siebenbürgischen Geschichte und Landeskunde* (Cologne, 1962), 104–112.

[41] As quoted in the Prologue, footnote 3, the chronicler and church organist Hieronymus Ostermayer preserves the event in the following words: "Eodem anno (1542). In the month of October we began to hold Lutheran mass in the Cron church, and we abolished the Papist one for the honor of God and his holy name. Amen." Ostermayer's diary also illustrates the leading role of Kronstadt's civic leaders in the introduction of the Reformation: "Furthermore H. Johannes Fux, through that most enlightened and very learned man, M. Johannes Honterus, instituted the Reformation of the churches in the Burzenland and promulgated the same in print." From: "Chronik des Hieronymus Ostermeyer," in Kemény, *Deutsche Fundgruben*, vol. 1, 27f.

[42] Martinuzzi's foreign-policy manoeuvres between the two great powers (Habsburg and the Ottomans) occasionally led to demonstrations of force on the part of the Porte, for example at the end of 1542, when the Moldavian prince Petru Rareş attacked Transylvania on orders from the Sultan, also threatening Kronstadt.

clergy (both sessions held on 3 November 1541), it was resolved that the parishes in the region should be reorganized and visited to ensure "the pure preaching of the Gospel and thereby to renew the faith,"[43] which a commission of representatives from the chapter and the town council began to carry out that same year.[44]

The Reformation Pamphlet (Reformationsbüchlein)

Commissioned by the town council in 1543 and published by Johannes Honterus in Kronstadt, a pamphlet titled *Reformatio ecclesiae Coronensis ac totius Barcensis provinciae* summarized the reforms that had been implemented so far:[45]

> Although the first section of the *Reformationsbüchlein* is titled "On the Teachings," it contains more homiletics than dogmatics. Among other issues, the need for a better education of priests is stressed, "through tried and true authors and solid knowledge of the scriptures" (*bonis ac probatis auctoribus et certiore scipturarum cognitione*). The next part of the book

[43] "Eodem die (sc. feria quinta post Omnium Sanctorum) pro convocatione prov. causa evangelii pure praedicandi, ut religionis hic reformatione […]." In: *Quellen*, vol. 3, 178.

[44] According to contemporary sources the visitation began on the Tuesday before St. Nicholas' Day (5 December), and was executed "cum venerabilibus et prudentibus dominis." In: ibid., 180.

[45] *Reformatio ecclesiae Coronensis ac totius Barcensis provinciae. Coronae MDXLIII*, in Oskar Netoliczka (ed.), *Johannes Honterus' ausgewählte Schriften. Im Auftrage des Ausschusses zur Errichtung des Honterusdenkmals in Kronstadt* (Vienna, 1898), 11–29. For a German translation see Julius Gross (ed.), *Reformationsbüchlein für Kronstadt und das ganze Burzenland* (Kronstadt, 1920). The work was probably authored by a group under the overall direction of Honterus, who became the central figure of the Reformation for Transylvanian Saxons. See Binder, *Johannes Honterus*, 101. In the same year another edition was printed in Wittenberg, for which Melanchthon wrote a preface: "What good is it to promise Hungary, our armed ally for so long, that we will dutifully defend it again? […] This does not lift the sorrow; rather a haven must be shown, as an end to the affliction. Therefore some churches in Hungary are piously and wisely taking action to purify the doctrine, and the people in this distress might hear encouragement and the name of Christ not perish in them. In truth, we should have no doubt that God shall keep for Himself some remnants, some circles, some studies, some schools where, after the banishment of idolatry, the voice of the Gospel will sound and God will be called upon in the right way, by faith in the Son as mediator." In: Carolus G. Bretschneider, *Corpus reformatorum. Philippi Melanthonis opera quae supersunt omnia*, (Halle, 1834f.), vol. 5, 1838, 173f. German translation of the Latin by Reinerth in *Die Gründung der evangelischen Kirchen*, 132f., who comments: "This publication also brought Honterus's publication to the attention of the Inquisition, so that in 1554 it was placed on the list of forbidden books."

> deals with the Lutheran version of baptism and opposes rebaptism and exorcism. In the section *De missa privata*, reasons are given for abolishing the private mass. The chapter *De missa publica* gives information on the public worship service: A description of its elements (praefatio, thanksgiving, blessing) is included here, together with the main part, the celebration of the Eucharist under both kinds. This is followed by paragraphs on the Eucharist for the sick and exclusion from the Eucharist. In another chapter the duties of the pastor and the curates are explained. The education of youth is the topic of the section *De scholis*, while the care of the poor and of orphans is treated in the following sections. In the final chapter, titled "Of Christian Freedom," the reader is admonished to obey the laws of God over those of men. The laws regarding the celibacy of priests and fasting are rejected, and the number of holy days is criticized as excessive. The book closes with a reminder of every individual's responsibility before God.[46]

The Southeastern-European Dimension

The foreword to this first tract on the Reformation to be published in Transylvania points out the unique geographical and cultural situation of Kronstadt, and the ramifications of this situation for the practice of religion. This passage expands on the book's theological arguments for church reform by adding a dimension that has received insufficient attention for a long time, both in the church histories and in the national histories of the region.[47]

> If we but closely observe with our modest powers and realize that the trading center Kronstadt, situated in the remotest regions of the Western Church, is constantly being sought out by Greeks, Bulgarians, Moldavians, Wallachians from beyond the mountains, and other peoples belonging to the Eastern Church, who take exception on the one hand to the multiplicity of altars and images, on the other to certain useless ceremonies, and who persist in assailing us in numerous disputes with respect to matters of faith, and thereby even divert some souls from the truth, and otherwise through their unity awake doubt among simple people about things over which certainty reigns: therefore, so that the Christian faith should not through our customs come into disrepute among just those who consider

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[46] Discussed in detail by Reinerth, *Die Gründung der evangelischen Kirchen*, 97–121. To the following, see ibid., 122f.

[47] On the processes in Kronstadt in the context of East-Central European town Reformation, cf. Edit Szegedi, "Die Reformation als 'Krisenmanagement.' Überlegungen zur Identität einer siebenbürgischen Stadt im Zeitalter der Reformation," in Maria Crăciun and Ovidiu Ghitta (eds.), *Ethnicity and Religion in Central and Eastern Europe* (Cluj, 1995), 64–69.

> themselves the more sincere because of their rites—whatever these may be—and haughtily hold this up to others, we see ourselves compelled by reasons of conscience to renounce some things of little consequence.[48]

That the authors of this publication would not have the changes understood as fundamental innovations is emphasized in other passages of the preface and in the main body of the text as well.[49] Herein the Reformation in Kronstadt does not essentially differ from the beginnings of the movement in Western Europe.[50] From the passage above, however, the particular geographically and culturally mediated identity of the town and its consequences for religious practice become explicit; the municipal authorities of a thriving commercial center, situated at the intersection of the realms of the Western Church and the Eastern Church, justify changes in what are presented as inessential aspects of church life ("some things of little consequence") by referring to the unrest in town life that is generated by penetrating and embarrassing questions from Orthodox believers. Whether and to what extent concrete, recent religous debates between east and west had created a need for immediate action is not explained, and is of secondary importance. A persistent criticism[51] resulting from long-standing commercial relations

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[48] "Quod cum pro nostra mediocritate accuratius animadverteremus at emporium Coronense in ultimis partibus ecclesiae occidentalis constitutum assidua frequentari videamus a Graecis, Bulgaris, Moldavis, Valachis Transalpinis ac aliis orientali ecclesiae subiectis populis, qui tum multitudine altarium et simulacrorum, tum etiam ineptis quibusdam caeremoniis vehementer offenduntur et variis disputationibus de religione pertinaciter nos oppugnant, adeo ut saepe quorundam animos a veritate seducant et suis concentionibus ea, quae compertissima sunt, apud simplices in dubium vocent: ne fides Christiana propter nostras consuetudines male audiat apud eos qui suos qualescumque rite sinceriores gloriantur ac ceteris insolenter anteponunt, in quibusdam levioribus cedere coacti sumus propter conscientiam." From: *Reformatio ecclesiae Coronensis*, 12.

[49] "Qua quidem in re diligentissima cautum est, ne quid novi sine testimonio scripturarum aut exemplo clarissimarum urbium in ulla parte suspiceretur, neve in iis, quae sunt ad salutem necessaria et habent manifestum mandatum Dei." In: *Reformatio ecclesiae Coronensis*, 12. "Quod ab ecclesia catholica et orthodoxa fide atque ipsa evangelicae veritatis doctrina in nullam partem declinavimus." Ibid., 26.

[50] Martin Luther, *Disputatio pro declaratione virtutis indulgentiarium*, in: Otto Clemen et al. (eds.), *Luthers Werke in Auswahl*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1966), 6th ed., theses 81–90; Kurt Aland, "Luther und die römische Kirche," in Erwin Iserloh and Gerhard Möller (eds.), *Luther und die politische Welt* (Stuttgart, 1984), 125–172; Jaroslav Pelikan, *Obedient Rebels. Catholic Substance and Protestant Principle in Luther's Reformation* (New York, 1964), 17 and 119; Horst C. Rabe, *Reich und Glaubensspaltung. Deutschland 1500–1600* (Munich, 1989), 144; cf. Szegedi, "Die Reformation als 'Krisenmanagement'," 68.

[51] Szegedi correctly emphasizes that already very early the existence of another Christian church had prompted demands for reforms in the Roman Church. See Heinrich Koller (ed.), *Reformatio Sigismundi* (Stuttgart, 1964), 192f. Cf. Szegedi, "Die Reformation als 'Krisenmanagement'," 68. The exchange between the reform movement

Kronstadt: Old town and citadel (Engraving by J. Richter, after a drawing by L. Rohbock. Courtesy of the Siebenbürgisches Museum Gundelsheim)

was apparently perceived as an aspect of the general credibility problem of the Church; the reform occurred for "reasons of conscience." The following arguments in Honterus's book position the events in Kronstadt theologically; nevertheless, the explanation provided by the town authorities in the foreword of the Reformation Pamphlet must not be ignored.

Testing the Reformation: The Diet of 1543

The adoption of Honterus's Reformation Pamphlet by Kronstadt and the Burzenland chapter did not escape the notice of Transylvania's power elites. The leading clergy of the chapter (the dean, Nikolaus from Rosenau, the Kronstadt town pastor, Jeremias Jekel, and the two pastors Michael from Weidenbach and Valentinus from Heldsdorf) as well as Honterus, who at this time was not yet in a clerical position and thus

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and the Orthodox Church played an important role in legitimizing the Reformation. See for example Ernst Benz, *Wittenberg und Byzanz. Zur Begegnung und Auseinandersetzung der Reformation und der östlich-orthodoxen Kirche* (Marburg, 1949), 4.

not part of the chapter, were all summoned to give an account during the Diet in Gyulafehérvár (June 1543). First, however, their status had to be decided, as well as the legal framework of their appearance. While Martinuzzi wanted to bring the Burzenland reformers before the court on charges, a more moderate majority opted for a disputation. On 6 and 7 June, Izabella and Martinuzzi signed letters of safe conduct. The debate probably took place shortly thereafter, chaired by Izabella and the vicegerent, and in the presence of numerous capitulars of the Gyulafehérvár cathedral, humanists, and representatives of the estates.[52] The chronicle of the committed Lutheran Ostermayer contains a description of the event:

> Anno 1543. Herr Johannes Fux has been elected judge for the third time. Because of this, the Queen and the Treasurer have called a meeting with the Papists at Weissenburg and summoned Herrn Magistrum Johannes Honterus, together with the little book on the Reformation and the town leaders. And of the clergy Herr Nicolaus, pastor at Rossnaw, Herr Jeremias, pastor at Cron, as well as the honorable [town] judge and several other [council-] men have traveled there. But they did not allow Herrn Magistrum to accompany them. However, since by the grace of God the gentlemen mentioned held their own against the Papists, they came home safely and spread the Gospel all the more in the land.[53]

As can be seen from the text, Honterus did not participate in the discussion himself, rather he wrote a brief for the defense, the Apologie,[54] which presumably served his fellow reformers as a guideline for the arguments they would present before Izabella, the representatives of the estates, and the vicegerent, and which essentially followed the lines of argument in the Reformationsbüchlein. Since there was no objection from the rulers against the reforming measures implemented in 1542–43, the Burzenlanders' appearance in Gyulafehérvár seems to have been successful.[55]

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[52] See Klein, *Der Humanist und Reformator Johannes Honter*, 239f.; Roth, *Die Reformation in Siebenbürgen*, 120f. The summonses are published in Karl Fabritius, *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte des Keisder Kapitels* (Hermannstadt, 1875), 213f.

[53] *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt*, vol. 4, 504. Cf. Reinerth, *Die Gründung der evangelischen Kirchen*, 122f.

[54] Printed in Binder, *Honterus*, 187–203.

[55] Zach, "Politische Ursachen und Motive der Konfessionalisierung in Siebenbürgen," in: Leppin, *Konfessionsbildung und Konfessionskultur*, 57–70, here 68.

The Reformation in Hermannstadt, in the Nösnerland, and in the Counties

In Hermannstadt

Following the events in the Burzenland and the ensuing Diet in Gyulafehérvár, Matthias Ramser, town pastor in Hermannstadt and dean of the Hermannstadt chapter,[56] decided to act as well, but not without first getting reassurances from theological authorities. Before joining Honterus and the others in the work of the Reformation, he sent the Reformationsbüchlein to Luther, Melanchthon, and Bugenhagen, asking them to review the tenets contained therein. The three reformers promptly expressed their agreement with the book. From Luther's reply to Ramser (1 September 1543):

> Everything you ask of me you will find in our book, better than I can write it. For it pleased me exceedingly, so learned, pure and faithfully is it written. Read this book then and reach an agreement with the pastors of the Kronstadt church. They will be your most useful helpers in reforming your church.[57]

Melanchthon and Bugenhagen, too, were supportive of the events in Kronstadt and the Reformation Pamphlet. Melanchthon wrote admiringly that "God's graciousness has bestowed such pure teachings and rules on the churches right at the beginning," and he expressed his hope that "God will soon drive the Turks out of this region."[58] Bugenhagen, for his part, praised the Kronstadt church for being consistent in all matters with the church in Wittenberg.[59] Lutheran church services were apparently introduced in Hermannstadt shortly after the response of the Wittenberg reformers. Of course, developments in local politics favored church reform in Hermannstadt as well. After the death of Matthias Armbruster on 1 December 1542, Peter Haller was elected mayor. He supported the Reformation and had his town chronicler, Lukas Trapoldianus, translate the Reformationsbüchlein into German in

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[56] For more on Ramser's work see Gustav Arz, "Matthias Ramser und die Reformation im Siebenbürger Sachsenland," *Siebenbürgisch-sächsischer Hauskalender* (1965), 67–77.

[57] Martin Luther, *Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe* (Weimar, 1883f.), vol. 10, 393, quoted after Reinerth, *Die Gründung der evangelischen Kirchen*, 129f. Cf. ibid. for this paragraph.

[58] Bretschneider, *Corpus Reformatorum*, vol. 5, 172.

[59] "Reformatio Coronensis per omnia consentit nostrae, quae adeo plane eadem est, quam certe scimus esse veteris ecclesiae doctrinam, observationem et consensum […]." In: Otto Vogt, *Dr. Johannes Bugenhagens Briefwechsel* (Hildesheim, 1966), 271f.

The Hermannstadt parish church (finalized around 1520) (Detail of an engraving by Knopfmacher, after a drawing by L. Rohbock. Courtesy of the Siebenbürgisches Museum Gundelsheim)

1543.[60] In the spring of 1544, Ramser, accompanied by two councilors, conducted a church visitation in his chapter.

[60] "The Reformationsbüchlein is the handiest proof that Hermannstadt joined the Kronstadt Reformation already in 1543." In: Reinerth, *Die Gründung der evangelischen Kirchen*, 135. For more on Peter Haller, see Gustav Gündisch, "Peter Haller. Bürgermeister von Hermannstadt und Sachsengraf (1490?–1569)," *Deutsche Forschung im Südosten* 3/1 (1944), 43–102; Ute Monika Schwob, *Kulturelle Beziehungen zwischen Nürnberg und den Deutschen im Südosten im 14. bis 16. Jahrhundert* (München, 1969), 10–15; Andreas Kubinyi, "Die Nürnberger Haller in Ofen," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 52 (1963–64), 80–128.

In the Nösnerland

The years 1542–43 were also decisive for the Reformation in German-speaking Bistritz, the main town of the Nösnerland, a region to the north of Hermannstadt and Kronstadt. An important source in this connection is a letter written (in Kolozsvár) on 16 January 1543 by the former town chronicler of Bistritz, Christian Pomarius, and addressed to the council of that town. The letter reveals very recent political events and the resulting consequences for the religious life in Bistritz. Pomarius refers to an Ottoman document that he has examined (probably during his brief stay at the royal court in 1542), in which the Sultan threatened the annihilation of "the idolaters," and to the recent attack of the Moldavian prince Petru Rareș on Bistritz. The following passage is of utmost interest:

> Behold, Friends and Gentlemen, whom he [the Sultan] is calling idolaters: indeed it is Christians, who are dangerously misled, and against the instruction of the Lord display so much reverence for images. Therefore do not permit that there, where through this penetrating scourge of the Lord [the attack on Bistritz] the idols were cast down, they should be set up again at great expense. I have written to some priests as well on this matter: you all must see that thereby our name comes into disrepute among the peoples.[61]

The attack of Petru Rareș at the end of 1542, ordered by the Ottoman leadership, was intended to remind the Principality's rulers of the terms of the treaty of 1541. The Porte was not pleased by Martinuzzi's deals with the Habsburgs. Furthermore, the Ottomans were still waiting for the first payment of the annual tribute that had been promised by Transylvania in the treaty. (The first payment did actually arrive in the beginning of 1543.) As Pomarius's letter shows, the besieged

[61] "Videte, domini et amici, quos vocet idolatras: nempe Christianos, qui in pessimum disrimen et contra mandatum domini tantam reverentiam imaginibus exhibent. Nolite ergo permittere, ut, ubi in isto transeunte flagello domini idola illa dejecta sunt, rursus cum jactura maximarum expensarum restituantur. Scripsi super hac re etiam aliquibus sacerdotibus: videtis, quod nomen nostrum apud gentes ab hoc pessime audiat." The full Latin text may be found in Richard Schuller, "Christian Pomarius. Ein Humanist und Reformator im Siebenbürger Sachsenlande," *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 39/1 (1913), 185–246, here 245f. On the various translations and the resulting (mis-) interpretations ("breaking of images in Bistritz") cf. especially Konrad G. Gündisch, "Christian Pomarius und die Reformation im Nösnerland," in Weber, *Luther und Siebenbürgen*, 115–134, here 120, whose analysis has been the basis of this paragraph.

towns were under duress; in November the Moldavian troops stood before the gates of Bistritz. The death toll among the defenders was considerable, and large parts of the town (including the so-called Upper Monastery) burned down. Rareș demanded a large sum of money in return for sparing the town and its inhabitants.[62] In order to raise the ransom, which was still high after negotiations, the town leaders ordered that several chalices of gilded silver and a crucifix be melted down. It is quite probable that Pomarius meant these (and other items destroyed in the fire) when he wrote of the images cast down by the scourge of God and warned the people of Bistritz against their costly restoration. The writer's commitment to the religious reform is plain, and the scene in Bistritz closely resembles the "cleansing" of church space in the sense of the Reformation.[63] This destruction of images at the hands of an invading army most likely marked the starting point for the introduction of the Reformation in Bistritz.[64]

In the Counties

The historical sources on the Reformation in the counties are less abundant. Overall it can be determined that, where the Transylvanian-Saxon reformers could count on the civic leaders in the towns as they carried out the renewal of their church, the Hungarian reformers turned to the high

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[62] Radu Constantinescu, *Moldova și Transilvania în vremea lui Petru Rareș. Relații politice și militare* [Moldavia and Transylvania at the Time of Petru Rareș. Political and Military Relations] (Bucharest, 1978), 116; Albert Berger, "Das Verhältnis von Bistritz zu dem Moldauer Woiwoden Peter Raresch," in *Festgabe zur Feier der Einweihung des neuen evang. Gymnasial-, Bürger- und Elementarschulgebäudes A.B. in Beszterce (Bistritz) am 7. Oktober 1911* (Bistritz, 1911), 76f.; Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitóre la istoria românilor* [Documents Concerning the History of the Romanians], vol. 15/1, ed. by Nicolae Iorga (Bucharest, 1911), nr. 790–99; cf. Gündisch, "Christian Pomarius," 120–121.

[63] See also Evelin Wetter, "Das vorreformatorische Erbe in der Ausstattung siebenbürgisch-sächsischer Pfarrkirchen A. B. Altarbildwerke—Vasa sacra/Abendmahlsgerät—Paramente," in Zach, *Humanismus in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen*, 19–57, here 21–22; Christoph Machat, "Auswirkungen der Reformation auf die Ausstattung siebenbürgischer Kirchen," in Weber, *Luther und Siebenbürgen*, 309–326, here 311.

[64] Early signs that everyday life had changed came in May 1544, when the pastor in Heidendorf, Adam Pomarius (the brother of Christian Pomarius), informed the Bistritz town council of his intention to marry. "It is the first open defiance of celibacy by the Reformation-minded clergy in the Nösner district, and a clear commitment to the new teachings." And in 1546 the town pastor, Albert Cerasinus, writes to Johann Hessius, a colleague in Wroclaw: "reformatae sunt hic in Transylvania ecclesiae urbium Saxonicarum." In: Gündisch, "Christian Pomarius," 122.

nobility for support. Sympathizers included the East-Hungarian nobles Thurzó, Perényi, Báthori (from Ecsed), and Drágffy. From the counties Bihar and Szatmár especially (both in the Partium) as well as from Debrecen, impulses for reform spread out to the Hungarian-speaking population of the Principality. The early 1540s saw more itinerant preachers than usual on the roads of these regions. Mátyás Dévai Bíró, for instance, was active on the properties of Gáspár Drágffy, a wealthy landowner:[65]

> The Franciscan monk Dévai Bíró studied from 1523 to 1526 in Kraków. After a brief engagement as preacher he went to Wittenberg in 1529. From the spring of 1531 Dévai worked as a reformer in Buda and Kassa. That same year in Buda he published 52 reform theses (*Rudimenta salutis*) and a tract against the cult of saints (*Sententiae de sanctorum dormitione*). His sermons resulted in several stints in jail between November 1531 and 1535. After stays in Nürnberg, Wittenberg, and Kraków, he went to the court of the noble Péter Perényi in 1539. Later he became a school rector, but soon thereafter had to leave the country again. After returning home, he was able to pursue his activities as a reformer on the Drágffy properties in the Northeast-Hungarian counties.[66]

Consolidation of the Lutheran Reformation: 1544–1550

At the State Level

The legal records from the Diet of Torda convened on St. George's Day in 1544 contain the first resolution attempting to regulate the religious affairs of the country since the beginning of open Reformation in Transylvania.[67] Its contents suggest the extent of the changes that had

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[65] Cf. Bucsay, *Der Protestantismus in Ungarn*, 52–65.

[66] Critics accused Dévai of teaching a *media sententia* or even of being a crypto-Calvinist. Overall, however, he was considered a Lutheran, as shown by the appellation "Hungarian Luther," which may be found in Christian Schesaeus, *Ruinae Pannonicae*, 1571; see Bucsay, *Der Protestantismus in Ungarn*, 57.

[67] See Fata, *Ungarn, das Reich der Stephanskrone*, 101. Cf. also Binder, *Grundlagen und Formen der Toleranz*, 47. The text of the resolution: "Decreta universorum Dominorum et Nobilium in Comitiis Thorda ad festum beati Georgii Martyris in anno 1544 celebratis: Item in negotio religionis decretum est, ut deinceps nemo aliquid innovare audeat, neque vita moribus aut victu extra civitates aliquem offendat, sed quisque per omnia se ad aedificationem proximi accomodet; monachos autem et alios ecclesiasticos viros nemo aliquo impedimento afficiat, sed divina officia more solito libere exercere possint." Printed in Georg Daniel Teutsch (ed.), *Urkundenbuch der*

occurred in the meantime, for example, when travelers are admonished to adapt themselves to the religious customs of the localities they visit. An injunction against disrespect toward monks and (traditional) clergy shows that Catholic clerics have already shifted to a defensive position. The enacted legislation makes clear that, basically, the Diet was taking stock of recent developments, all the while trying to limit future changes by imposing a ban on innovation (*nemo aliquid innovare audeat*).

On the Königsboden

A few months later in that same year, the Nationsuniversität decided that

> […] the towns, which almost all have already accepted the Word of God, should use the same ceremonies in their churches. Those, however, who have not yet accepted the Word of God, may receive the brotherly admonition to ask for God's grace together with the others, so that they, too, might in the same way accept and believe God's Word.[68]

It is clear at this point that the representatives of the *natio Saxonica* considered religious issues an internal matter to be regulated by the respective estates' assemblies according to the Diet resolutions of 1542. What is more, at this assembly the political body of the *natio Saxonica* set in motion a decisive impulse toward the establishment of the Reformation across the entire Königsboden.[69] Whereas in the years 1542–1545 it was the largest towns of the Königsboden (Kronstadt, Hermannstadt, and presumably Bistritz) that openly went over to the side of the Reformation, over the next years other centers and chapters of the Transylvanian Saxons followed suit.[70]

Evangelischen Landeskirche A.B. in Siebenbürgen, vol. 1 (Hermannstadt, 1862), 83.

[68] Ibid., 3: "[…] ut civitates, que iam fere omnes verbum dei receperunt, eiisdem et similibus ceremoniis in ecclesiis earundem utantur. Eos autem, qui nondum verbum dei receperunt, fraterne adhortentur, ut pro gracia dei unacum aliis unanimiter supplicent, quo et ipsi simili modo verbum dei acceptare et credere valeant." A year later the resolution is renewed with the addition of villages and markets.

[69] Zach, "Zur Geschichte der Konfessionen," 59.

[70] On the basis of documentary sources, Reinerth discusses the Reformation processes and the persons involved in Mediasch, Birthälm, Schässburg, Keisd, Kleinschelken, Sächsisch-Regen, and Mühlbach. Cf. Reinerth, *Die Gründung der evangelischen Kirchen*, 133–149.

Romanians and Lutheranism

Along with the introduction of the Reformation in the settlements of the Königsboden, there were systematic attempts to include the Romanian population of this area in the Reformation process as well. In both Hermannstadt and Kronstadt, the municipal authorities took pains to influence the ritual and language of the Orthodox services along Lutheran lines in the area under their jurisdiction. The first palpable result of these efforts appears to have been an early Romanian book, the Catechism of Sibiu by Philippus Pictor, which was published in Hermannstadt under mandate of the Transylvanian-Saxon Nationsuniversität.[71] The work has not been preserved, but its existence is beyond doubt. In a letter of 1546 the pastor of Bistritz, Albert Wurmloch, reports the publication of the Catechism to Wroclaw (Breslau) and describes its mixed reception among the Orthodox priests; while it seems to have been welcomed by a part of the Romanian clergy, others rejected it, possibly because of the changes it proposed in church ritual.[72] Melanchthon and Honterus, too, mention difficulties encountered during the attempts to introduce the Reformation among the Romanians, but do not elaborate.[73] It is not known whether immediately after 1544 Orthodox priests preached in Romanian in their churches. Evidence is sparse concerning the circulation of Romanian-language church books in the communities of the Königsboden, and it comes mostly from a later time.[74]

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[71] An entry in the town accounts of Hermannstadt dated 13 July 1544 indicates that Philippus Pictor was paid two guilders by the town magistrate for printing the book. In: Ioan Bianu and Nerva Hodoș, *Bibliografia Românească veche* [The Old Romanian Bibliography] (1508–1830), vol. 1 (Bucharest, 1903), 22. Cf. Binder, *Grundlagen und Formen der Toleranz*, 111; on this paragraph see also Zach, *Orthodoxe Kirche*, 162f.

[72] "Et multi ex sacerdotibus amplecunctur eum libellum tamquam sacrosanctum, multi autem prorsus contemnunt." In: Ion Gheție, "Considerații filologice și lingvistice," 78. The sources from the 1540s give no definitive reason for the rejection. Cf. to the course of events in Kronstadt also Paul Binder and Arnold Huttmann, "Românii din Brașov în epoca Reformei [The Romanians in Kronstadt at the Time of the Reformation]," *Studii și articole de istorie* 13 (1969), 79–93.

[73] Sigismund Jakó, "Die Hermannstädter Druckerei im 16. Jh. und ihre Bedeutung für die rumänische Kulturgeschichte," *Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde* 9/1 (1966), 31–56, here 54.

[74] Jakó mentions the "lending of a number of Wallachian books" by the town of Hermannstadt to parishes in the seats of Leschkirch and Schenk around 1581. It is difficult to categorize a certain Transylvanian-Saxon, Lutheran pastor (Johannes Nireus), who is known to have preached in Orthodox churches of the Altland (Țara Oltului) and the Burzenland. In: ibid. See also Arnold Huttmann and Paul Binder, "Geneza Cazaniei II. (1581) și legăturile diaconului Coresi cu tipăritura latină din Brașov [The Origin of Cazania II (1581) and the Connections Between the Deacon Coresi and the Latin Publications From Kronstadt]," in Ion Gheție (ed.), *Studii de limbă literară și*

In the Counties

Secular figures among the Hungarian Lutherans continued to be influential in the Reformation after it came into the open. With the support of noble landowners (the Drágffys, the Töröks from Enying, and others), the reform movement grew stronger in the Partium. Shortly after Dévai's death a synod took place in Erdőd near Szatmár (20 September 1545), at which 29 clergymen from the region to the north of Nagyvárad acknowledged their commitment to Luther's teachings and adopted twelve articles that hewed closely to the Augsburg Confession of 1530. After this first Lutheran synod of Hungarian clergy, two further synods were held in 1549 and 1550 in Torony by clerics of the neighboring bishopric of Csanád. In the towns and villages with mixed populations, Lutheran ideas spread among the Hungarians through the mediation of Transylvanian Saxons, as, for example, in Kolozsvár.

In Kolozsvár (Klausenburg)

The Free Royal Town (*libera regiae civitas*) of Kolozsvár, situated at the juncture of roads that had been important trade routes since the Middle Ages, played a central role in the history of the Reformation in Transylvania.[75] Beginning with the 14th century, the number of Hungarian inhabitants in the originally German settlement had grown continually. Since 1458 the offices in the town council were held in parity and the town judges were alternately Hungarians and Transylvanian Saxons. From the 1520s on, the ideas of the Reformation were brought to the town by merchants and by the sons of the town citizenry who studied abroad. For their part, the libraries and learned monks[76] of the Franciscan, Augustine, Carmelite, and Dominican cloisters contributed to a lively philosophical and theological life in the city.

Adrian Wolphard,[77] who was close to the Vienna humanist circle around Celtis, held the position of town pastor and vicar general in

filologie [Studies of Literary Language and Philology], vol. 1 (Bucharest, 1969), 243–257, here 250.

[75] Cf. for this section Fata, *Ungarn, das Reich der Stephanskrone*, 153f.; Köpeczi, *Erdély története*, vol. 1, 471f.

[76] The prior of the Dominican college in Florence at the end of the 15th century, Nicolaus de Mirabilius, was a Kolozsvár Dominican (Miklós Csuda).

[77] Wolphard had studied in Vienna and Bologna and was capitular of the Gyulafehérvár cathedral from 1517 to 1531.

Kolozsvár from 1531 until his death in 1544. As an editor of well-known humanist works (by Janus Pannonius, for example), he helped prepare the way for the Reformation. Wolphard was succeeded in office by Kaspar Helth / Gáspár Heltai, who, after two years of study in Wittenberg, heeded a call to return to Kolozsvár, where he married in the first year after his nomination. Heltai soon was able to win a large part of the population over to his side. In 1551, with the assistance of the town council, he succeeded in establishing the Lutheran Reformation there.

> Heltai (1510/1515–1574) was one of the outstanding Transylvanian cultural figures in the Reformation era. His native tongue was German, he came from a Transylvanian-Saxon family, and politically and juridically he belonged to the *natio Saxonica*. On several occasions he made it clear that this was indeed how he perceived himself.[78] At the same time, Heltai established the printing of Hungarian books in Transylvania and is considered the father of the Hungarian literary language.[79] By the 18th century he appears in an encyclopedia of authors with the label *Hungarus*.[80] With respect to religion, too, his life had many facets. From Lutheranism he converted to Calvinism and later to Antitrinitarianism. Regarding his plural identities, from a 16th-century perspective and in the Kolozsvár context, Heltai was of course a less spectacular phenomenon than it may appear from the more ethnically and nationally oriented point of view of later times.[81]

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[78] As for example in the preface to the Hungarian edition of the Little Catechism from 1553: "I wanted to show my fidelity to my office, not only through the sermon in my German language, since, with respect to language, I am a Saxon." Quoted from Friedrich Teutsch, "Caspar Helths sächsische Abstammung," *Korrespondenzblatt des Arbeitskreises für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 37/6–7 (1914), 102. In 1568 Heltai was a member of the Saxon delegation that negotiated with the Hungarians in a dispute over the ownership of St. Michael's Church. See Eugen v. Trauschenfels (ed.), *Deutsche Fundgruben der Geschichte Siebenbürgens*, vol. 3 (Kronstadt, 1860), 73f., 93f. His son, Gáspár Heltai the younger, "from the ranks of the Saxon Nation," held the office of notary. See "Részletek az ifjú Heltai Gáspár szerkesztette közgyűlési jegyzőkönyvekből [Fragments from the General Meeting Minutes Edited by Gáspár Heltai Jr.] (1611–1617)," in *Kolozsvári emlékírók (1603–1720)* (Bucharest, 1990), 143. Cf. Szegedi, *Geschichtsbewusstsein und Gruppenidentität*, 174f.

[79] József Fitz, *A magyarországi nyomdászat, könyvkiadás és könyvkereskedelem története* [History of Printing, Publishing and Book Trade in Hungary], vol. 2 (Budapest, 1967), 163f.; Paul Binder, "Kaspar Helth-Heltai," in *Taten und Gestalten. Bilder aus der Vergangenheit der Rumäniendeutschen*, vol. 1 (Cluj-Napoca, 1983), 96; Antal Szerb, *Magyar irodalomtörténet* [Hungarian Literary History] (Budapest, 1934), 68.

[80] David Czvittinger, *Hungariae Literatae Specimen* (Frankfurt, 1766).

[81] Kolozsvár's bilingualism is documented since no later than 1458, when the Transylvanian Saxons and Hungarians agreed to share seats on the town council equally and to alternate in occupying the office of town judge. In 1568 the manning of the

Kolozsvár (Klausenburg) (Drawing by J. Peeters. Courtesy of the Siebenbürgisches Museum Gundelsheim)

Over the next months, the neighboring, smaller Hungarian-speaking towns Torda and Dés followed the example of Kolozsvár (ecclesiastically a part of the Bistritz chapter) and introduced the Reformation in rapid succession.

The Church Order of Hermannstadt

Regarding the parishes of the Königsboden, the Nationsuniversität (under the direction of Peter Haller) maintained the initiative and summoned a committee of "learned men" (*docti viri*) to Hermannstadt on 20 March 1547. Over several weeks this group—including Dean General Bartholomäus Altemberger and the pastors of Schässburg (Lukas Roth), Bistritz (Albert Kirschner), and Kolozsvár (Helth/Heltai)—worked out a general church order on the basis of Honterus's Reformation Pamphlet. The result was the Church Order of the Saxon Churches in Transylvania (*Reformatio ecclesiarum Saxonicarum in Transylvania*),

offices of town pastor and school rector were also regulated in this way. During the time in which the highest secular office (town judge) was held by a Hungarian, the town pastor was a Saxon, and vice versa. The Transylvanian Saxons of Kolozsvár differed from the Saxons of the Königsboden mainly in their denomination. Like most of the Hungarians of the town, the Kolozsvár Saxons, too, opted at first for Calvinism, and later for Unitarianism, while the Saxons in the counties and on the Königsboden (with few exceptions) remained solidly Lutheran. Over time they gradually drifted apart, but the Kolozsvár Saxons continued to regard themselves as Saxons, even as they spoke more and more Hungarian in their daily lives and magyarized their names.

which Honterus published that same year in Kronstadt in both Latin and German. Honterus himself, although personally invited to collaborate, did not take an active part in composing the text, but rather commissioned the Brenndorf pastor Matthias Glatz and the Kronstadt councilman Valentin Wagner to participate in his stead. His absence appears to have had consequences for the content of the final product. Without going into details on this matter, the ramifications can be summarized by relating the conclusion of one of the foremost experts on the Lutheran Reformation in Transylvania:

> The result was [...] that the differences between the two Reformation Orders [i.e. the Reformation Pamphlet and the Church Order] became greater than they would have been if Honterus had been there. As to the question, which of the determinations in the order of worship service might have been disputed, the answer might include the second morning service, the readings in the mass—*lectio continua* or the old pericopes—and the position of the sermon. On these issues, Hermannstadt were for the most part able to hold sway, especially because, whenever the meeting was not going their way, they were not so quick to bow humbly and piously ["fromb demütig"] to the decisions of the plenum.[82]

The *Reformatio ecclesiae Coronense* by Johannes Honterus of Kronstadt may have been the first important publication of the reform movement in Transylvania, but with the publication of the newly elaborated Church Order, the *Reformatio ecclesiarum Saxonicarum*, the center of influence shifted back to Hermannstadt. At the same time (9 March 1547), the candidate favored by Honterus (Matthias Glatz) was not elected to be the new town pastor in Hermannstadt; instead, Bartholomäus Altemberger was chosen for that office, who would continue in the direction taken by his predecessor, Ramser.[83]

Despite the differences pointed out in the relevant literature, much of the new Church Order was along the lines of the Reformationsbüchlein, and some of its passages were taken verbatim from the earlier text. Overall, however, the new text had a more moderate tone, with many instructions regarding everyday church life as well as life outside the church. This obviously stemmed from the authors's aims; a step already taken was to be explained and made binding for the Transylvanian-Saxon parishioners,

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[82] Reinerth, *Die Gründung der evangelischen Kirchen,* 187–188. For a detailed discussion of the Church Order, see 175–188.

[83] Ibid., 188. On Glatz's theological affinity with the Swiss Reformation, see Roth, *Die Reformation in Siebenbürgen*, 79.

> so that hereafter vexation and division in the ceremonies should better be prevented, and not everyone, according to his own mind and judgment, put forth new ways that he has made up, but rather in sacramental and other churchly offices a definite order be maintained conforming to the Word of God, and he should not claim something particular for himself due to some exceptional power, and without any reason deviate from ancient Christian custom. For there is nothing more pernicious, nor more odious to God, than discord of faith and meddlesome squabbling or disagreement.[84]

Seen in the light of a decision taken three years later by the Nationsuniversität, the preface to the Church Order already connotes more than just the estate *natio Saxonica* when it calls for the "harmony of all Saxon churches in Transylvania."[85] On 20 April 1550 the supreme legislative body of the *natio Saxonica* declared the Church Order binding for the religious life of *all* Transylvanian-Saxon communities, including those outside the Königsboden, for which the Nationsuniversität, strictly speaking, had no political or juridical competence. By including the German-speaking communities in the counties, who were subservient to the *natio Hungarica*, a step was taken that in the long term would lead away from the estate structures of the Middle Ages and toward an ethnically defined federation with a modern stamp.[86]

Valentin Wagners Greek Catechism

Valentin Wagner started out as Honterus's pupil, later became his collaborator, and finally, in 1549, succeeded him in office as town pastor.

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[84] "Auff das hernach füglicher verhindert werd ergerniss und spaltung der ceremonien und nit jederman nach seinem verstand und gutdünken new getichte weyse aufbringe, sondern in sacramentreichen und andern kirchenampten eine bestimpte und dem Wort Gottes gleichförmige ordnung behalte, und nit aus besonderm gwalt etwas seltzams für sich selbs nemm, und von altem christlichem brauch on ursach abweiche. Dann es ist nichts verderblichers, nac für Gott grewlichers, denn uneinigkeit des glaubens und fürwitzige zank oder zwitracht." From: "Kirchenordnung aller Deutschen in Sybenbürgen, MDXLVII," in Teutsch, *Urkundenbuch*, 36–71, here 38–39. Cf. Gündisch, "Die 'Geistliche Universität,'" 111f.

[85] "Eintracht aller Sachsischen kirchen in Sybenbürgen." In: Teutsch, *Urkundenbuch*, 38.

[86] Gündisch, "Die 'Geistliche Universität'," 111. "An ordinance was thus passed that concerned an ethnic entity irrespective of juridical boundaries. To be sure, some non-German (mostly Hungarian) communities would belong to the Lutheran Church for centuries to come, but the designation 'Lutheran' developed very early into a synonym for 'German.'" In: Roth, *Kleine Geschichte Siebenbürgens*, 56f.

In 1550 he published a work that was remarkable in several respects.[87] Wagners *Katichisis* was the first expressly theological publication of the Transylvanian-Saxon Reformation, and one of the first Greek catechisms by a German reformer anywhere. The rather extensive text (205 printed pages) draws largely on the ideas of Melanchthon in order to make a novel appeal: a Protestant offer of dialogue with the Orthodox Church. The gesture extends to the inclusion of borrowings from the Greek Church Fathers (especially Basil of Caesarea, Epiphanius of Salamis, and Nilus of Sinai) as well as allusions to John Chrysostomus and John of Damascus. The targeted readers could have been the Greek merchants residing in Kronstadt's so-called Upper Suburb (Șchei), who were in close contact with the Transylvanian-Saxon patricians. But the work might also have been directed—indirectly through the mediation of the educated local Orthodox clergy who knew Greek—toward the much more numerous Romanian inhabitants of the same part of town.[88] Wagner's overriding motivation may also have been pedagogical and humanistic: to improve the general knowledge of (classical) Greek.[89] At any rate, the book did not reach a broad audience, due in part to its use of archaic classical Greek, but due also perhaps—in addition to the Lutheran content—to its genre, which would have seemed quite foreign from the Orthodox point of view.

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[87] Andreas Müller, *Humanistisch geprägte Reformation an der Grenze von östlichem und westlichem Christentum. Valentin Wagners griechischer Katechismus von 1550* (Mandelbachtal, 2000); Andreas Müller, *Reformation zwischen Ost und West. Valentin Wagners griechischer Katechismus (Kronstadt 1550)* (Cologne, 2000); Ulrich A. Wien, "Die Humanisten Johannes Honterus und Valentin Wagner als Vertreter einer konservativen Stadtreformation in Kronstadt," in Leppin, *Konfessionsbildung und Konfessionskultur*, 89–104, here especially 101f.

[88] On the historiography of the Romanians in Kronstadt (including the history of the St. Nicholas Church parish and of the first Romanian school) and the Chronicle of the Priest Vasilie (1392–1633) see Szegedi, *Geschichtsbewusstsein und Gruppenidentität*, 156–159; Vasile Oltean, *Școala românească din Șcheii Brașovului* [The Romanian School in the Upper Suburbs of Brașov/Kronstadt] (Bucharest, 1989); Pavel Binder and Arnold Huttmann, "Între istorie și filologie I. Mediul cultural românesc al Brașovului în epoca coresiană [Between History and Philology. The Romanian Cultural Environment in Brașov/Kronstadt in the Time of Coresi]," *Limba română* 20/1 (1971), 3f.; Pavel Binder, "Precizări cu privire la perioada coresiană a culturii brașovene [Specifications Regarding the Coresian Period in the Culture of Brașov]," *Limba română* 22/3 (1973), 275f.; Ioan Lupaș, *Cronicari și istorici români din Transilvania* [Romanian Chroniclers and Historians from Transylvania] (Craiova, 1933).

[89] The same may well apply to the Catechisms of Lukas Lossius (1545), Michael Neander (1556) and Johannes Clajus (1592).

The Orthodox Church of St. Nicholas in Kronstadt (16th–18th ct.) (Engraving by G. M. Kurz, after a drawing by L. Rohbock. Courtesy of the Siebenbürgisches Museum Gundelsheim)

Habsburgian Intermezzo, Catholic Restoration, Lutheran Institutionalization

Political Developments (1548–1556)

The Diet reconfirmed the state of religious affairs in 1548 and repeated its ban on further religious reform in the Principality, indicating at the same time that deliberations of the "Christian rulers" in the German lands of the Holy Roman Empire would soon bring about important decisions in religious matters.[90] The meaning of this last statement, amid the confusion in the aftermath of the Schmalcaldic War, is not exactly clear, but it does show the determination of the Transylvanian estates to place their religious policy in a European context.[91] This alertness notwithstanding, religious and political developments in the Holy Roman Empire would affect Transylvania at first only minimally, if at all. In the end, Martinuzzi's strategic moves turned out to be more momentous, causing rifts within the Principality in the 1550s and involving Transylvania in a series of armed conflicts that would also have an impact on the history of religions in the region.

Although the vicegerent's foreign policy during the first half of the 1540s was overtly pro-Ottoman, he still maintained secret connections to Ferdinand, until, in 1547–48, he considered the time ripe to enter more intensively into negotiations with the Habsburgs.[92] After the truce of 1547 between Vienna and the Sublime Porte, and Charles V's victory in the Schmalcaldic War, Martinuzzi sent emissaries to the Reichstag in Augsburg. The emperor and the king received the delegation in February 1548, but they were not (yet) ready to take concrete action regarding Transylvania. Finally, in September 1549 at Nyírbátor, the vicegerent was able to sign a treaty with Ferdinand that arranged for

[90] "In causa religionis cum brevi deliberationes principium christianorum exspectentur, decretum est, ut in his quoque nihil innovetur; sed quemadmodum ante biennium constitutum fuit, in eo stato nunc quoque causa religionis consistat, nec concionatoribus de loco eis constituto ad alium concionandi causa ire liberum sit." In: "Beschluss des Landtags von 1548", in Teutsch, *Urkundenbuch*, 83–84.

[91] Szilágyi, *Monumenta Comitialia*, 238. It is very unlikely that the decree was based on a mistaken assessment due to insufficient information, as is conjectured by Ludwig Binder, who sees here another instance of the work of a disseminator of "unverifiable and misleading information," as in the case of the apparently mistaken description of the decrees of the Diet of Regensburg of 1541 in Honterus's Apologie.

[92] Köpeczi, *Erdély története*, vol. 1, 427f.; Volkmer, *Das Fürstentum Siebenbürgen*, 63f.

Transylvania to move into the Habsburgian sphere of influence—a step that was supported by the Transylvanian Saxons.[93] As compensation, the royal widow Izabella and her son were to receive two Silesian dukedoms, Opole and Racibórz. Izabella, by no means willing to sit by idly while her son was dispossessed of the crown, informed the Sultan of this plan immediately and mobilized the followers of the house of Szapolyai. Armed confrontations ensued between Izabella's forces and Martinuzzi's (pro-Habsburg) troops, and the latter besieged the residence town of Gyulafehérvár in September 1550 and May 1551. That same year imperial troops led by general Gianbattista Castaldo marched into Transylvania. In June, Izabella abdicated in the name of the underage king[94] and left Transylvania shortly thereafter, headed for Silesia. Meanwhile, Mehmed Pasha, the beylerbey of Rumalia, was proceeding with an army toward Transylvania under orders from the Sultan. Martinuzzi tried to head off the approaching Ottoman threat by diplomatic means and duly paid the tribute of 10,000 florins that Transylvania had been rendering to the Sublime Porte since 1543. Nevertheless, the Ottomans occupied parts of the Banat (Lippa, Csanád, etc.) and thereby seriously weakened Transylvania's southwestern line of defenses. With the support of reinforcements sent by Ferdinand under general Pallavicini, Martinuzzi promptly mounted a counteroffensive at the head of Castaldo's mercenaries and the troops of the Transylvanian estates. He won back Lippa, but he also granted free passage to the Turkish occupiers, who had quickly surrendered. This and other circumstances strengthened the imperial mercenary officers' suspicions that Martinuzzi had made a deal with the Ottomans. At the instigation of Castaldo and with the approval of Ferdinand, the vicegerent, who in the meantime had been named cardinal by the pope, was murdered in the night of 16–17 December 1551 in the Alvinc castle.[95] The Ottomans pushed into the southwestern and western parts of the Principality in 1552, occupying castles and towns. At the same time, Castaldo's mercenaries, for their part ransacked the Central-Transylvanian towns, outraging the estates. The Porte pressed forcefully for the return of the

[93] Gündisch, *Siebenbürgen und die Siebenbürger Sachsen*, 79–81: Ernst Wagner (ed.), *Quellen zur Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen* 1191–1975 (Cologne, 1976), 111–112.

[94] Up to 1570 (the Treaty of Speyer), János II Zsigmond Szapolyai bore the title of *rex electus*; after that date, he was *princeps Transylvaniae* (etc.).

[95] Utiešenović, *Lebensgeschichte*, 273.

Szapolyais to the Principality, and, finally, in two sessions of the Diet in 1556, the estates decided to recall Izabella and her son.

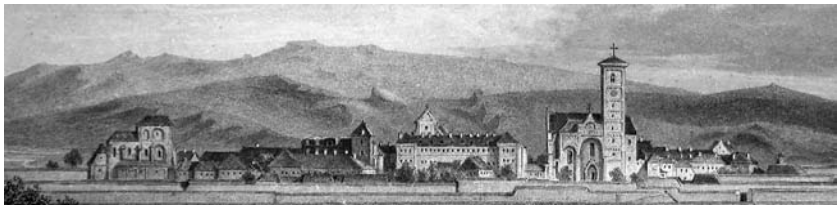
Catholic Restoration and Lutheran Institutionalization

Against this tumultuous background some remarkable decrees on religious affairs by the Diet must be mentioned. They offer proof that the secular leaders were taking the Reformation process carefully into account, not least for reasons that related to domestic politics. In 1550, still under the regency of the Catholic bishop Martinuzzi, the Diet had granted to the estates freedom of choice with respect to religion, and even under Habsburg domination (1551–1556) the legislative assembly once again stressed that adherents of both religions should receive each other "with deference and friendliness" (*honore et mansuetudine*).[96]

The religious leaders of the Transylvanian Saxons, allied with Ferdinand both politically and militarily, were unhindered during the Habsburgian intermezzo in taking a further step toward the institutionalization of the new Lutheran Church. On 6 February 1553 a synod of the Transylvanian Lutherans elected their first superintendent in the person of Paul Wiener.[97] However, the date did not mark

[96] Torda, 1552. The decree includes a codicil concerning the Lutheran parish in Marosvásárhely: "Conclusum est per Dominos status et ordines unanimi eorum voto de religione observanda, ut quemadmodum superiori eorum conventu generali statutum erat, ne fautores partis evangelicae parti alteri, videlicet papisticae, quid adversi inferre contendant, similiter et hi part alteri praejudicent, et eosdem indigne infestare studeant, quin potius altera partium partem alteram honore et mansuetudine prosequantur. Quantum attinet ad incolas oppidi Szekely Vásárhely per eosdem status et ordines regni decretum est, ut omnibus illis, quicunque fidem evangelicam audire et ediscere voluerint, liceat praedicatorem eorum ad sacellum sanctae Elisabeth, prout superioribus quoque proximis in articulis continetur, constituere et sanctum evangelium Christ per eum concionari, omnesque cerimonias juxta verba Christ exercere et sacramenta porrigere possit et valeat." In: Teutsch, *Urkundenbuch*, 84–85; also in: Robert Csallner, *Quellenbuch zur vaterländischen Geschichte*, part 2 (Hermannstadt, 1905), nr. 18, 140.

[97] Wiener came to Transylvania as an exile as late as 1548. The former capitular of the Ljubliana (Laibach) cathedral had quickly become known in his hometown as an advocate for the Reformation; as early as 1537 the Ljubliana town council issued a warrant for his arrest. In the 1540s, Wiener married for the second time and introduced in his masses the Eucharist under both kinds. After the victory of Charles V over the Protestants in 1547 in the Schmalcaldic War, Paul Wiener was arrested and brought to the imperial capital, where he refused to recant publicly. Instead, he expanded the text of a "revocation document" (laid before him to sign) with written elucidations that delineated his Lutheran standpoint. Wiener was then banished to Transylvania, where



Gyulafehérvár. To the right, the cathedral (11th–18th ct.) (Detail of an engraving by F. Hablitschek, after a drawing by L. Rohbock. Courtesy of the Siebenbürgisches Museum Gundelsheim)

the final secession of the new Church from the bonds of the Catholic Church's conglomerate: When (later that same year) Nicolaus Olahus was named archbishop of Esztergom, the deans of the two exempt chapters—Hermannstadt and Burzenland—sent a letter of congratulation and assured him that they would continue to remit the required "cathedral interest." In his answering letter the archbishop admonished the deans to abandon the errant doctrine to which they were adhering and summoned them to a synod on 1 May 1554 in Trnava, at which they could report to him on their parishes. In another letter (dated 2 December 1554) to the religious and secular dignitaries of the areas belonging to the Hermannstadt chapter, Olahus demanded the dismissal of all apostate pastors.[98]

Pressure from the Catholic side was exerted on the parishes of the Gyulafehérvár diocese as well. In fact, under the new conditions of Habsburg domination, an essential change occurred in the situation of the Catholic Church in Transylvania. In 1553 Ferdinand filled the seat of the Catholic bishopric with a new appointment, Pál Bornemisza, who

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he ascended in a relatively short time to the upper levels of the church hierarchy; in 1549 he became a preacher (*concionator*) in Hermannstadt, and just three years later, after the death of Bartholomäus Altemberger, he was elected town pastor on 11 May 1552. After becoming the first superintendent of the Lutheran Church in February 1553, he performed ex officio the first ordination of Lutheran clergymen in Transylvania in the parish church of Hermannstadt on 22 March 1553. Wiener died of the plague in Hermannstadt on 16 August 1553. For more on his life and work see Hermann Jekeli, *Die Bischöfe der Evangelischen Kirche A. B. in Siebenbürgen* (Cologne, 1978), 3–10; reprint of an earlier edition: Hermannstadt, 1933. See also Karl Reinerth, "Das Glaubensbekenntnis Paul Wieners, des ersten evangelischen Bischofs der Siebenbürger Sachsen," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 67 (1976), 203–231.

[98] The letters of the archbishop have been published in: Heinrich Herbert, *Die Reformation in Hermannstadt und dem Hermannstädter Capitel* (Hermannstadt, 1883), 61f. Cf. Reinerth, *Die Gründung der evangelischen Kirchen*, 230f.

called a synod in 1554 at Gyulafehérvár with the declared purpose of re-incorporating into the Catholic Church the chapters that had embraced the Reformation. However, the reaction of the Bistritz chapter to these measures revealed an overarching stance (i.e. shared consistently across diocesan boundaries) of the now Lutheran parishes toward the Catholic authority. The chapters of the Gyulafehérvár diocese, too, were prepared "to submit the customary and honest payments [...and] due obedience in external matters," said a letter from Bistritz to Bishop Bornemisza, but in matters of conscience, inner religious service (*ad internum cultum*), and purity of the Word of God, the bishop may "remain quiet and peaceful" (*nobis sit quieta et pacifica*).[99]

Bornemisza's episcopate would be of short duration. Already in 1554 he left the country with Ferdinand's troops, and two years later, in a letter to the archbishop of Esztergom, he requested dismissal from office. This request followed immediately upon the secularization of the property of the Gyulafehérvár bishopric. The seizure of the episcopal property was legally sanctioned that same year (1556) by the Diet, and once more the episcopal palace became the princely residence.[100]

The final organizational severance of the Lutherans from the old Church occured after the end of Bornemisza's incumbency: On 29 June 1556 the second superintendent of the Lutherans (and the first who was recognized as such by the leadership of the Principality), Matthias Hebler, was elected to office. However, the institutional development of Lutheranism in Transylvania proceeded in the following years along paths that were anything but linear, as evident from the processes of differentiation that led to the creation and development of a further Lutheran church organization. Already at the general synod of 1557, *two* superintendents signed the decrees: Hebler and Ferenc Dávid. The division of the Transylvanian Lutherans into a "Kolozsvár/Klausenburg" (Hungarian) Church and a "Hermannstadt" (Transylvanian-Saxon) Church was imminent.[101]

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[99] "Zwei Briefe des Bistritzer Kapitels an den Weissenburger Bischof Paul Bornemisza oder Abstemius, worin es sich wegen Annahme der Reformation rechtfertigt vom Jahre 1554," *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, n. s. 1 (1853), 375–388, here 379.

[100] Bornemisza wrote the letter on 15 March 1556 in the castle of Gyalu and signed it with the words: "Bishop of Transylvania, without diocese and without income." In: Zach, "Zur Geschichte der Konfessionen," 61. See also Bahlcke, "Status catholicus," 159.

[101] Cf. Zach, "Zur Geschichte der Konfessionen," 64f.

Heltai, Dávid, and the Division of the Lutheran Church

Because the proportion of Hungarians in the population of Kolozsvár kept growing (increased also by the influx of immigrants from the Banat, which had been occupied by the Ottomans since 1552), Helth delivered his sermons predominantly in Hungarian during the next years, wrote his books exclusively in that language, and used the magyarized form of his name: Heltai Gáspár. Since 1549/1550 he was co-owner (with Georg Hoffgreff of Kronstadt) of the third oldest printing house in the Principality, in which he printed the first Hungarian-language books in Transylvania, including translations of large parts of the Bible: nine books of the Old Testament and the entire New Testament, all published between 1551 and 1565. Helth also translated Luther's Little Catechism and Johann Spangenberg's Little Book of Solace into Hungarian and, in line with Sebastian Frank's tract, wrote his Dialogue in 1552, in which he familiarized a wider public with the Lutheran doctrine of morals through stories and parables that called on the reader to lead a disciplined life.[102] In 1557 Helth resigned from his post as town pastor and devoted himself exclusively to his literary work and his printing business. Ferenc Dávid[103]—like Heltai, of Transylvanian-Saxon descent (Franz Hertel)—became his successor in the office of town pastor.

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[102] Fata, *Ungarn, das Reich der Stephanskrone*, 154.

[103] A characterization from a rather unsympathetic source: "Franciscus Dávid was a man of very acute mind and tenacious memory, so familiar with Scripture that he seemed to have the Old and New Testaments on the tip of his tongue. In disputes with Calvinists and Lutherans before the leading men of the kingdom he easily surpassed them all. It was his custom to explain Scripture by Scripture, and when a passage was cited against his heresy, he would at once bring forward other similar ones that seemed to support his view, and from these he gathered that the authority cited by his opponent was also to be understood in the same way." From a letter of the Jesuit István Szántó (Arator) to his superior, Claudius Aquaviva, dated Kolozsvár, September 1, 1581, printed in: Andreas Veress (ed.), *Epistolae et Acta Jesuitarum in Transilvania*, vol. 1 (Kolozsvár, 1911), 185f. Quoted from: Wilbur, *A History of Unitarianism*, 29. On Ferenc Dávid, see also Elek Jakab, *Dávid Ferencz emléke. Elitéltetése és halála háromszázados évfordulójára* [The Memory of Ferenc Dávid. On the Anniversary of Three Hundred Years Since His Trial and Death], 2 vols. (Budapest, 1879); Dénes Gagyhy, *Dávid Ferenc* (Kolozsvár, 1926); Pirnát, *Die Ideologie der Siebenbürgischen Antitrinitarier*; a number of contributions in the Unitarian journal *Keresztény Magvető*: on Dávid's origins and name: István Borbély (1923), Pál Binder ("Dávid Ferenc családja: a kolozsvári Hertel nemzetség [Ferenc Dávid's Family: the Hertels of Kolozsvár]," 1979); on particular stages in his life: Jenő Zoványi (years serving in Hermannstadt, 1935), Pál Sebesi (the time in Kronstadt, 1975), Sámuel Szabó (training with Honterus, 1979); on his place in intellectual history: László Iván (1935), Ferenc Balázs (1936), Béla Varga (1929).

In the same year (1557) a separate, Hungarian, Lutheran superintendency was established under Dávid's leadership. On 13 June 1557, a general synod of Saxon and Hungarian Lutherans was held in Kolozsvár. One point of discussion was the rising Helvetian influences among the Transylvanian Protestants.[104] The basis of the proceedings was a document (the Kolozsvár/Klausenburg Consensus) that included a binding commitment to the Lutheran doctrine of the Eucharist. Intended as a standard for the entire Principality, the document was signed by the leaders of both the Saxon and Hungarian clergy. After the synod it was sent to Melanchthon in Wittenberg for review. That same synod decreed the establishment of a German superintendency in Hermannstadt and a Hungarian one in Kolozsvár. Dávid became the Hungarian superintendent, while Hebler continued to hold that office for the "Hermannstadt Church."[105] The Kolozsvár synod took place in the immediate aftermath of the Diet of 1557, whose central decree has been characterized by the scholarly literature as "the founding document of the so-called religious tolerance in the Principality of Transylvania:"[106]

> Because we and our noble son [Izabella and János II Zsigmond], in response to the ardent pleading of the land's estates, have decided that everyone may keep the faith he desires, including the new and the old customs of worship, we have left matters of faith to their [the estates'] discretion, so that it may happen as it pleases them. In this matter, however, no injustice shall be done to anyone.[107]

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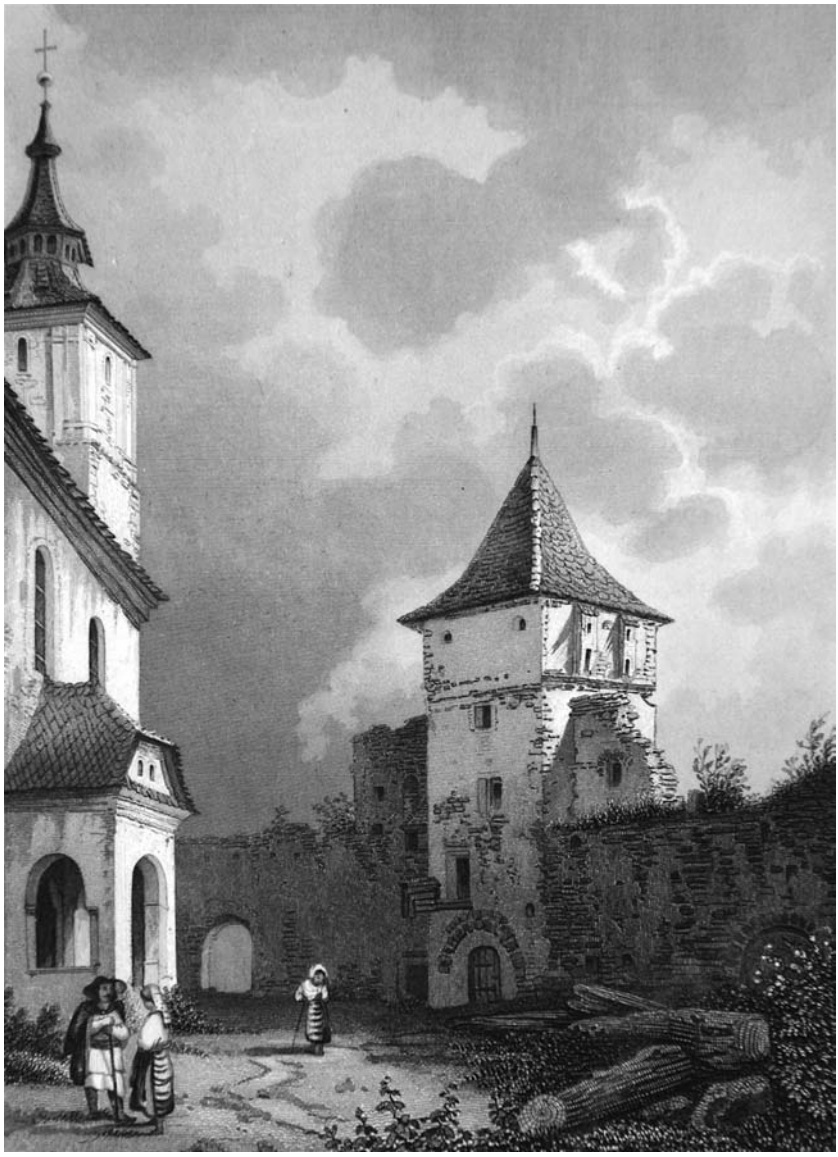
[104] Cf. for this paragraph Reinerth, *Die Gründung der evangelischen Kirchen*, 240–252.

[105] The Nationsuniversität tried hard in the ensuing years to suppress other denominations among the Transylvanian Saxons (for example in the case of the town pastor Titus Amicinus in Kronstadt). In 1560 it issued a ban on other denominations for its members. On Calvinist and Antitrinitarian Transylvanian Saxons see the section below on the history of religion in Kolozsvár. Cf. Edit Szegedi, "Sächsische Identität im Klausenburg des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 22/1 (1999), 14–21.

[106] Krista Zach, "Religiöse Toleranz und Stereotypenbildung in einer multikulturellen Region. Volkskirchen in Siebenbürgen," in Konrad G. Gündisch, Wolfgang Höpken, and Michael Markel (eds.), *Das Bild des Anderen in Siebenbürgen. Stereotype in einer multiethnischen Region* (Cologne, 1998), 109–153, here 118.

[107] Wagner, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen*, nr. 44, 121f. "Quoniam nos filiusque Noster Serenissimus ad instantissimam supplicacionem dominorum Regnicolarum clementer consensimus, ut quisque tenere eam fidem quam vellet cum novis et antiquis ceremoniis, permittentes in negocio fidei eorum arbitrio id fieri quod ipsis liberet citra tamen iniuriam quorumlibet." In: Teutsch, *Urkundenbuch*, 85. For the Latin texts of the decrees of the Diets see also Szilágyi, *Monumenta Comitialia*, vol. 1.



Brenndorf (Engraving by A. Rottmann, after a drawing by L. Rohbock. Courtesy of the Siebenbürgisches Museum Gundelsheim)

At the Diet the following year (Torda, 27 March 1558), the decree was ratified and enlarged by a prohibition of the "Sacramentarians" (Calvinists), with reference to the opinion published earlier that year by Melanchthon.[108]

Lutheran Reformation and the Orthodox Church

Contemporary chronicles report that on 12 March 1559 the Kronstadt town magistrate undertook to reform the Orthodox parishes in the Burzenland.[109] In the same year the officials commissioned the deacon Coresi to publish the second edition of the Romanian Catechism and, in the following year, a book of the four Gospels. In the years from 1543 to about 1581 the publication of the first church books in the Romanian vernacular initiated a process that, over the next two centuries, would gradually lead away from the Old Slavonic liturgy and toward sermons in Romanian. Coresi stressed in his publications the significance of the "comprehensible word" and indicated in the preface to the Catechism of 1559 ("Întrebare creştinească" ([Christian Questioning]) that he undertook the printing of this work with the knowledge of the Orthodox authorities; Sava, the bishop of Geoagiu, is mentioned by name, as is Efrem, the metropolitan of the Hungaro-Wallachian diocese.[110]

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[108] "Quemadmodum autem antea quoque maiestates sue benigne concesserant ut quilibet eam quam vellet papisticam videlicet aut lutheranam religionem profiteretur, ita nunc quoque clementer liberam dedit facultatem, omnibus alterutram harum sequi, rixas tamen et iniurias inter utrosque sublatos esse vult et prohibet, Sacramentariorum quoque sectam arceri et pro Judicio Ecclesiae Wittembergensis proxime sub chirographo Philippi Melanchth. adducto tolli censet." In: Teutsch, *Urkundenbuch*, 86–87.

[109] Journal entry by the contemporary chronicler Massa: "1559 die 12 Martii, Johannes Benknerus, judex Coronensis, cum reliquis senatoribus reformavit valachorum ecclesiam et praecepta catechesos discenda illis proposuit." For this, and a similar entry by the pastor H. Fuchs of Kronstadt, see Zach, *Orthodoxe Kirche*, 165.

[110] On Coresi, see Ion Gheţie and Alexandru Mareş, *Diaconul Coresi şi izbînda scrisului în limba română* [The Deacon Coresi and the Success of Writing in Romanian] (Bucharest, 1994); Ion Gheţie and Alexandru Mareş, *De când se scrie româneşte?* [When Did Writing in Romanian Begin?] (Bucharest, 2001).

The Second Wave of the Reformation

Political Developments (1556–1571)

The years after the return of the royal family to Gyulafehérvár (1556) were marked by confrontations with varying levels of intensity between Transylvania and the House of Habsburg, which resulted in shifting borders in the northwest of the Principality. At the end of 1557 the Szapolyais ruled an area that reached all the way to Kassa (Košice), but four years later the counties of Bihar and Máramaros/Maramureș formed Transylvania's northwestern border. Several castles in the region (Nagyvárad, Szatmár, Tokaj, and others) changed owners repeatedly in the 1550s and 1560s. Overall, however, the situation of the Principality in international politics—between the two great powers—remained generally stable, thanks to a series of diplomatic initiatives. This notwithstanding, the Sublime Porte proved repeatedly (for example, in 1566) that it was not willing to renounce its claim to the lion's share of the former Kingdom of Hungary; central Hungary remained under occupation and Transylvania continued to be bound to the Ottoman Empire. At the same time, the region continued to play a special role in the political considerations of the Habsburgs regarding Southeastern Europe. The Peace of Adrianopolis on 17 February 1568 between Maximilian II and Sultan Selim II, and the Treaty of Speyer (negotiated in 1570 and ratified by Maximilian in March 1571), constituted the preliminary closure of an eventful period. During this time Transylvania maintained its status as a *dar al-ʾahd*, a "voluntarily subordinate country," which, under Islamic law, was obliged to pay annual but modest taxes and to maintain loyalty to the Ottoman Empire in foreign affairs, if necessary through military support. Transylvania's compensation for this submission was a large degree of domestic autonomy.[111]

[111] Köpeczi, *Erdély története*, vol. 1, 437f.; Zach, "Stände, Grundherrschaft und Konfessionalisierung in Siebenbürgen," 367–391, here 372. For more on the political status of Transylvania in this period see Cristina Feneșan, *Constituirea principatului autonom al Transilvaniei* [The Emergence of the Autonomous Principality of Transylvania] (Bucharest, 1997), 185f. and 194f.

Transylvanian Calvinism. The Separation of the Protestant Churches

In the Partium

By 1550 Lutheranism had already spread widely in the western regions of the Transylvanian Principality. Neither the Ottoman occupiers further west nor the vicegerent Martinuzzi had made a serious attempt to stem the tide of the reform movement. Eventually Debrecen, the region's largest town, became the most important center of another Protestant orientation, Calvinism, with effects radiating far to the east into the central and eastern parts of the Principality.

In 1551 Márton Kálmáncsehi Sánta[112] was elected town pastor of Debrecen. In a letter to the court chancellery at Vienna from the summer 1552, György Draskovics reports on the new pastor's reforming activities. Not only the Lutheran doctrine, but also the false teachings of the Sacramentarians were being disseminated ever more widely in the diocese of Nagyvárad, Draskovics says, and the leading spokesman was the town pastor of Debrecen, Márton Kálmáncsehi, who reportedly claimed that there was no real presence of the flesh and blood of Christ in the Eucharist, whether by means of transubstantiation or otherwise, and that the sacrament of Holy Communion consisted of signs and symbols. In his religious service, the town pastor considered the altar superfluous and thought a simple wooden table sufficient, wrote Draskovics, who accused Kálmáncsehi further of disdaining clerical vestments and of regarding everyday clothing good enough for conducting worship service.[113] While Kálmáncsehi is described here basically as a Zwinglian, other sources portray him and his work as closer to the intellectual tradition of Bullinger. Because of his radical views, Kálmáncsehi was formally excommunicated by a regional synod at Kőrösladány in 1552, but this did not hinder him from continuing to spread his teachings, especially since he had an influential patron in Péter Petrovics, one of the wealthiest landowners in Hungary and a counselor to the king. Protestant thought of Helvetian provenance spread quickly across Petrovics's vast properties. Already in 1552, two synods took place in

[112] As capitular at the Gyulafehérvár cathedral and rector of the theological seminary there, Kálmáncsehi had been among the referees in the religious debate at Schässburg.

[113] Mihály Bucsay, *A protestantizmus története Magyarországon* [History of Protestantism in Hungary] *1521–1945* (Budapest, 1985), 59. Cf. to this paragraph: ibid.

Beregszász under the direction of Kálmáncsehi, at which decrees of a (moderate) Calvinist nature were adopted. In Nagyvárad, too, after the death of Martinuzzi, Calvinist preachers became active, albeit only temporarily; Martinuzzi's successor as bishop of Nagyvárad, Mátyás Zabardy, wasted no time after his appointment in proceeding vigorously against the new direction and its adherents. When Ferdinand's troops moved against the supporters of the House of Szapolyai on a large scale, Zabardy, with the help of Habsburgian forces, compelled Petrovics to back down, and the majority of the nobility in the bishopric of Nagyvárad thereafter paid homage to Ferdinand. Sources from this time mention the murder of the Calvinist clergyman Balázs Radán by a Catholic on 8 May 1553.

Kálmáncsehi had to flee also, and over the next three years the Calvinist initiative made no progress. On the contrary, at a synod of the Protestant clergy of the Nagyvárad bishopric and the neighboring Tasnád vicarage in Óvár on 13 March 1554, several earlier, decidedly Calvinist decrees were modified in the spirit of Wittenberg: a step backward in the eyes of many (including the superintendent of the Szatmár diocese, Demeter Tordai), a necessary measure of caution in the view of others. The tide in military and political events turned in 1556, when Ferdinand was forced to withdraw his troops from Transylvania and eastern Hungary, and Zabardy died. The movement regained its strength and Calvinist teachings could be preached without hindrance in the counties and regions of Debrecen, Gyula, Szatmár and Bihar. Kálmáncsehi also returned to Debrecen, where he was active as bishop until his death in 1557.

In the spring of 1556, he went to Kolozsvár in order to take part in a religious debate as spokesman for the Calvinist side.[114] The disputation was initiated by the political leadership of the country, that is, Péter Petrovics, who had been named vicegerent by the Diet in Mühlbach, pending the return of the royal family. The debate continued—with

[114] It was not Kálmáncsehi's first stay in Kolozsvár. Two years earlier he had already been living there and the Lutherans of the town appear to have taken umbrage at his offensive sermons: "His demeanor—so it is reported to us—has created a great uproar in the town. People have been heard arguing everywhere and disputing questions of faith. Kalmancehi [sic] is reported to have laid out his teachings before the crowds in the middle of the market square. It is rumored that he went so far as to baptize children on the street with water from a trough for swine, and to call out thereby: 'this is Christian freedom.'" In: Reinerth, *Die Gründung der evangelischen Kirchen*, 226, taken from Georg D. Teutsch, *Die Synodalverhandlungen der evang. Landeskirche A. B. in Siebenbürgen im Reformationsjahrhundert* (Hermannstadt, 1883), 2.

interruptions—in oral and written exchanges until the summer of the following year, when, at the Kolozsvár synod of 13 June 1557, representatives of both Lutheran churches (Hermannstadt and Kolozsvár) passed a unanimous resolution:[115] The Kolozsvár Consensus was an expression of the situation of the Lutheran Church in Transylvania at the time—that is, consolidated with respect to both content and institutional structure—and it shows that the Helvetian impulse was not yet able to gain predominance in the central parts of the Principality. Just a few months later, however, a decision was taken at the western edge of the region in favor of Calvinism; in September 1557, the clergy of the diocese of Nagyvárad and the vicarage of Tasnád adopted a Calvinist Eucharistic creed.[116]

The Transylvanian-Saxon Nationsuniversität sent council secretary Thomas Bomelius to Wittenberg in November of that same year in order to have the Consensus reviewed by Melanchthon. His evaluation, dated 1558, was incorporated into a decree on religious affairs passed in March of that year by a Diet convened in Torda. As mentioned above, this decree, in addition to renewing the article that had been enacted in May 1557 ("everyone may keep the faith that he desires, including the new and the old customs of worship")[117] also outlawed the "sect of the Sacramentarians," with explicit reference to the authoritative opinion from Wittenberg.[118] Even Ferenc Dávid, as newly elected superintendent of the Kolozsvár Lutheran Church, referred to the Wittenberg text in the first synod that he called, also at Torda, on 1 May 1558.

In the Central Regions

The unity that seems to radiate from the Kolozsvár Consensus and the anchoring in law of the ban on "Sacramentarian fomentation" belie the success that Calvinism would have just a few years later in

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[115] *Consensus doctrinae de sacramentis Christi pastorum et ministrorum ecclesiarum in inferiori Pannonia et nationis utriusque in tota Transylvania. Conscriptus et publicatus in sancta synodo Claudiopolitana Transylvaniae, ipsa die sanctae, individuae et semper benedictae Trinitatis (13 Junii)* (Claudiopolis, MDLVII). The Latin text is printed in Teutsch, *Synodalverhandlungen*, 7–20. The authorship of the text is in dispute. Ferenc Dávid and Matthias Hebler are considered possible authors.

[116] Bucsay, *Der Protestantismus in Ungarn*, 107f.

[117] Wagner, *Quellen*, 121; Teutsch, *Urkundenbuch*, 85.

[118] In: ibid., 86–87.

the Principality. Péter Melius (Juhász)[119] became Kálmáncsehis's most effective successor in Debrecen. Together with other theologians in the region (for example, György Czeglédi and Gergely Szegedi) he worked out the first Hungarian creed of the Eucharist and even strove toward a compromise with the clergy of Kolozsvár. Since the positions of the church leaders in Debrecen and Kolozsvár did not differ substantially anymore, an agreement was reached in a relatively short time. Dávid seems to have abandoned the Lutheran standpoint quite early, and, by the end of the 1550s, maintained a theological position halfway between Wittenberg and Zwingli.[120] The step taken under Dávid's leadership by a portion of the Hungarian Protestant clergy was finally concretized at a synod at Nagyvárad in August 1559, at which leading Calvinists from the Partium participated, too, and where a written creed was worked out that was published that same year by Heltai's printing house (Heltai was now a Calvinist himself).[121] Just a few days earlier, at a synod in Mediasch, it had come to an open break between the Lutheran Church and the followers of Dávid, which led to the latter relinquishing his superintendency to Dionysius Alesius.[122] Finally, at the synod of Marosvásárhely on 1 November 1559, a new, common creed was signed at what is considered to be the foundational assembly of the Calvinist (Reformed) Church in Transylvania. The creed that was adopted there is the first Hungarian synodal document in Transylvania, an indication

[119] Péter Melius (Juhász) is thought to have been born in southern Transdanubia in the county of Somogy, an area occupied by the Ottomans. Descended from the lower nobility, Melius received his education in Tolna, where his teachers (Mátyás Tövisi und Imre Eszéki/Zigerius) were for the most part leaning toward Lutheranism. Later he studied with István Szegedi Kis. In 1558 he was elected town pastor in Debrecen and in 1561 he became bishop of the Calvinist parishes in the Tisza region. On Melius's activities before his time in Debrecen see István Botta, *Melius Péter ifjúsága* [The Youth of Péter Melius] (Budapest, 1978); on his life and work in general see Tibor Bartha (ed.), *A második helvét hitvallás Magyarországon és Méliusz életműve* [The Second Helvetian Confession in Hungary and Melius's Life Work] (Budapest, 1967). Cf. also Fata, *Ungarn, das Reich der Stephanskrone*, 89f.; László Makkai, "Un catéchisme hongrois contre les antitrinitariens," in Róbert Dán and Antal Pirnát (eds.), *Antitrinitarianism in the Second Half of the 16th Century* (Budapest, 1982), 90–95, here 91.

[120] Cf. Roth, *Die Reformation in Siebenbürgen*, 34.

[121] *Defensio orthodoxae sententiae de coena domini ministrorum ecclesiae Claudiopolitanae et reliqourum recte docentium in ecclesiis Transylvanicis* (Claudiopolis, MDLIX).

[122] Cf. Gustav Gündisch, "Zur Vorgeschichte der Spaltung im siebenbürgischen Protestantismus," *Kirchliche Blätter* 11 (1974), 3–5; Karl Reinerth, "Zur Spaltung im siebenbürgischen Protestantismus im Jahr 1559," *Korrespondenzblatt des Arbeitskreises für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 5/1 (1975), 43–45. Cf. Reinerth, *Die Gründung der evangelischen Kirchen*, 262f.

János II Zsigmond Szapolyai (Contemporary engraving. Courtesy of the Siebenbürgen-Institut Gundelsheim)

that the participants in this assembly (with the exception of the special cases of Dávid and Heltai) were overwhelmingly Hungarians.

János II Zsigmond Szapolyai (1559–1571)

János II Zsigmond assumed rule when Izabella died (only 40 years old) in September 1559.[123] He still bore the title conferred upon him at his birth, *rex electus*,[124] and was supported in the execution of his governmental duties by a group of counselors who had stood by his mother in the preceding years and who would continue to play an important role in Transylvanian politics: Mihály Csáky, István and Kristóf Báthori, Miklós Varkócs, and others, as well as Giorgio Biandrata, whose role in the spread of Antitrinitarianism can hardly be overstated, and Stanislaw

[123] In a report written in 1567 and dedicated to the Duke of Florence and Siena, Cosimo de Medici, the Italian professional soldier Giovannandrea Gromo (1518–after 1567), who had served during 1564–65 as commandant of János Zsigmond's bodyguard, portrays the character and external characteristics of the ruler in a favorable light. (The original has been preserved in the National Library of Florence: "Compendio di tutto il regno posseduto dal Re Giovanni Transilvano ed di tutte le cose notabili d'esso regno"): "This prince is of medium height and slender, with blond, silky hair and extremely fine, white skin […] his blue eyes gaze mildly and with benevolence […]. His arms and hands are long and finely articulated, but powerful […]. As for physical activity, he heartily enjoys every kind of hunting, both for large game such as stag and hart, which are abundant in the country, and for hare and fowl. […] He enjoys training horses […]. He is very strong in battle with the lance […] and in archery few are his equal, hardly any surpass him. He runs and jumps better than average; he loves wrestling, even if many are superior to him, and he would like to find himself a good teacher in this art. As for the exercise of his mental capacities, he loves music very much […]. He plays the lute surpassing all but very few. He knows Latin well […]. He speaks good Italian, German, Polish, Hungarian, Romanian and a little Greek and Turkish. With respect to temperament, he tends more to cheerfulness than to melancholy […]. He is extremely benevolent, gracious, subtle in thought, wise, level-headed, industrious, brave, and an untiring soldier, who always wants to be where the danger is greatest, day and night in the saddle. He rewards generously those who serve him faithfully […]. He is a strong believer and strives with all his power to grasp the Truth. He is opposed to suffering and only with great difficulty does he bring himself to mete out punishment, and he loves […] those who are virtuous. Among his recognized fine qualities is his abstinent mode of life […]." In: Holban, *Călători străini*, vol. 2, 325–371, especially 361–362. Biographies of János Zsigmond have been written by Elek Jakab, *János Zsigmond választott magyar király és erdélyi fejedelem élete és uralkodása* [The Life and Rule of the Elected Hungarian King and Prince of Transylvania János Zsigmond] (Kolozsvár, 1863); Kálmán Szentmártoni, *János Zsigmond erdélyi fejedelem élet- és jellemrajza* [A Biography and Character Study of the Transylvanian Prince János Zsigmond] (Székelykeresztúr, 1934).

[124] After the Treaty of Speyer (1570), Transylvania's rulers bore the title of *princeps* (prince).

Niezowski. The territorial confrontations with Ferdinand's troops continued, so that Transylvania was compelled to cede stretches of Upper Hungary one after another to the Habsburgs. Also taking place in János Zsigmond's reign were the confrontations with the Szeklers (1562), the recognition by the Sublime Porte of the Principality's right to freely elect its own leader (1567, but with the Sultan retaining the right of approval), and the first international treaty to be signed by a Transylvanian ruler (1570, the Treaty of Speyer, which was ratified by Emperor Maximilian in March 1571 at the Imperial Diet in Regensburg).

The rule of János Zsigmond (a little more than a decade) was characterized by potent religious and denominational dynamics, which led to the overwhelming majority of the Principality's population becoming Protestant. The ruler himself renounced his affiliation with the Catholic Church in favor of Lutheranism in 1562, converted to Calvinism a few years later, and finally became an Antitrinitarian around 1568. Beside his personal physician, Biandrata, his court clergyman Ferenc Dávid exercised a decisive influence on János Zsigmond, whose active interest and mutability in religious questions was in no small part due to his humanistic upbringing. Throughout his life the king strove to keep the cultural life of his country abreast of contemporary European cultural developments. He maintained a steady correspondence with scholars, poets, and artists abroad and supported their work.[125] János II Zsigmond intended to develop institutions of higher education in Transylvania; he sponsored the foundation of Protestant colleges in Kolozsvár, Marosvásárhely, and Nagyvárad, and he made longer-range plans to found a university in the capital. The expansion of the Gyulafehérvár school into an academy was meant to be a first step in this direction.[126] Toward this end, the king sent Biandrata to Western Europe in 1567 in order to recruit eminent teachers for the planned institution, and corresponded with professors in Basel and Paris and at

[125] An Italian anthology of poetry (*De la rime di diversi nobili poeti toscani*), published in Venice in 1565, is dedicated to János Zsigmond as the "patron of the Renaissance." For more on this, see Ödön Szabolcs Barlay, "Adatok a petrarkizmus magyarországi történetéhez. Olasz petrarkista költők antológiája az erdélyi udvarban [Data on the History of Petrarcism in Hungary. An Anthology of Italian Petrarcist Poets at the Hungarian Court]," *Irodalomtörténeti közlemények* 70 (1966), 183–190. Cf. for this paragraph Klára Jakó, *Az első kolozsvári egyetemi könyvtár története és állományának rekonstrukciója* [History and Reconstruction of the Holdings of the First Kolozsvár University Library] *1579–1604* (Szeged, 1991), 5–9.

[126] On this point, see the corresponding decree of the Diet from 1565. In: Szilágyi (ed.), *Monumenta Comitialia*, vol. 2, 289–290.

other universities, to several of whom he made firm offers.[127] His will, drawn up that year, also indicates his serious intentions concerning the academy: János II Zsigmond bequeathed his library and a considerable sum of money to the Gyulafehérvár school.[128]

Political and Denominational Dynamics among the Szeklers

In the case of the Szeklers historians have long argued that the processes of denominational formation were affected by social and political developments. Even before the disastrous battle at Mohács, fault lines within the Szekler community had become increasingly conspicuous.[129] Disparities in wealth were growing, as was the dependence of formerly free Szeklers on Szekler landowners, some of whom possessed titles of Hungarian nobility and expansive properties in the counties. After the three-way partition of the Kingdom of Hungary, the Szeklers became part of a much smaller state structure, and, as the significance of their military service increased, so did the demands placed upon them. At the same time, the Transylvanian rulers became less and less willing to abide the collective tax exemption of the Szekler lands. Under János Szapolyai and later under Martinuzzi the Szeklers were repeatedly obliged to pay so-called "exceptional" taxes and, after the tribute was negotiated with the Porte, the Szeklers, too, regularly paid levies. After 1554, the families of socially superior groups, the *primores* and the *primipilii*, as

[127] The University Library in Basel has preserved a letter, dated 26 June 1567, from János Zsigmond to Caelius Saecundus Curio. In another letter (dated 23 March 1570, also preserved in Basel), Petrus Ramus, professor of dialectics and rhetoric in Paris, writes to his colleague in Basel, Theodor Zwinger, of the offer he has received to teach in Transylvania at Gyulafehérvár. In response to this offer, Ramus sent the king one of his works with a personal dedication. János Zsigmond, however, died just a year later (on 14 May 1571) as did Ramus the following year in the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre. In: Jakó, *Az első kolozsvári egyetemi könyvtár*, 8–9.

[128] The ailing king had his last will drawn up as early as 1567. The document was discovered in the 1980s in Stockholm. It contains the following passage: "Libros vero omnis generis et in totum Maiestas eius legat testamento scholae Albanae, ut studiosi ex illis discant in libraria, quam aedificent honorificam. […] De rebus argenteis eius Maiestatis scholae Albensi et personarum studentium, ut scholam aedificent et ludi rectorem doctum foveant, qui doceat et studiosi discant in honorem Dei, legat eius Maiestas mille quingentos florenos." In: Gusztáv Heckenast, *János Zsigmond végrendelete* [The Testament of János Zsigmond] (Szeged, 1990), 155–169. See also Köpeczi, *Erdély története*, vol. 1, 498f.

[129] See for this paragraph Köpeczi, *Erdély története*, vol. 1, 498f.

Székelyudvarhely. Ruins of the citadel Székelytámadt, built after the revolt in 1562 (Detail of an engraving by J. Hablitschek, after a drawing by L. Rohbock. Courtesy of the Siebenbürgisches Museum Gundelsheim)

well as the peasants who were subordinate to them and who lived in de facto serfdom were exempt from contributions. Both militarily and with respect to taxation, the main burden fell upon the free Szeklers. From 1556 to 1559 the Diet adopted decrees that redetermined the tax liability of the *natio Siculica* as well as its obligations to military service. The tax exemption of the Szekler nobles was codified, too, in addition to other decrees that were felt by the greater part of the Szeklers to be outrageous inroads into their time-honored customary rights. In 1562 the long-simmering dissatisfaction among the Szeklers boiled over into a revolt, which was put down with arms by János II Zsigmond, who punished the leaders severely. Legislation followed in which, after temporary relief for the common Szeklers (decreed at the Diet of 20 June 1562 in Schässburg), their traditional rights were further restricted and they were reduced to serfdom by the thousands (decrees adopted in May 1566 at Torda). Over the next years and decades the Szeklers would time and again take up arms and rebel against the leaders of the land. Parallel to the accelerated deterioration of their old traditions, there were shifts in the Szekler's denominational affiliation. While in the 1550s the Szeklers—almost without exception—had remained Roman Catholic, this changed in the course of the late 1560s and early

1570s, as most of the Szeklers converted first to Calvinism and then to Antitrinitarianism. Before describing the developments that led to this second step, however, a section will be devoted to the consolidation of the Lutheran and Calvinist churches.

Denominational Consolidation

János II Zsigmond sought to continue the efforts at religious reconciliation that his late mother, Izabella, had begun. Toward this end the king sponsored a series of synods in the early 1560s. The first two were held in Mediasch in January 1560 and February 1561. The two Protestant parties (Lutherans and Calvinists) were invited to present and defend their standpoints.[130] The second synod included a public disputation in the pastoral church of Mediasch. A short report on this synod by Christian Massa, pastor of Rosenau, has been preserved, according to which "the disputation was held with Franz Davidis, Kaspar Helth, and other pastors of the Hungarian nation before His Majesty's commissioners, who had been chosen at the Diet, and the delegates of the Nationsuniversität."[131] Neither synod produced the hoped-for agreement, so that, on the advice of the (Lutheran) chancellor to János II Zsigmond, Mihály Csáky, the king had briefs written of the Lutheran and Calvinist standpoints to be submitted to German theological authorities for review. A delegation sent in late autumn 1561 with financial support from the Nationsuniversität traveled to Torgau (where it was received by the Elector August von Sachsen), Wittenberg, Leipzig, Rostock and Frankfurt/Oder, obtaining expert opinions from eminent theologians before returning to Transylvania in January 1562.[132]

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[130] The arguments of the two sides have been published in: Teutsch, *Die Synodalverhandlungen*, 25–32. They are discussed by Reinerth in *Die Gründung der evangelischen Kirchen*, 263f.

[131] Cf. ibid., 264. It seems quite remarkable that the Diet (Kolozsvár, 10 November 1560) should send secular representatives of two estates (the nobility and the *natio Saxonica*) to this synod. In: Teutsch, *Urkundenbuch*, 87–88.

[132] The texts are printed in Karl Schwarz, "Die Abendmahlsstreitigkeiten in Siebenbürgen und die darauf erfolgte Spaltung der evangelischen Glaubensgenossen Siebenbürgens in Anhänger Luthers und Kalvins," *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, n. s. 2 (1858), 269–286.

A year later the Lutheran superintendent Hebler published the *Brevis confessio*[133] (a creed with the essential points of the Lutheran propositions) together with the judgments of the four German theological academies. The Brief Creed and the document that was adopted on 8 March 1562 at the first synod after the return of the delegation are of foundational importance for the Lutheran Church in Transylvania. They also ushered in the final separation of the two Protestant churches. At the synod in Torda in 1563, the Calvinist-oriented clergy of Transylvania, led by Dávid, adopted the creed outlined by Calvin's successor, Theodor Beza, in his *Confessio christianae fidei*. This text was abridged, adapted, and printed the same year at Heltai's publishing house in Kolozsvár. The Calvinists of Transylvania had their own binding doctrine of the faith as well.[134]

And yet there was one final, grand disputation at the synod of Enyed in April 1564—also at behest of the king—, which from the start was steered in a secessionist direction by János Zsigmond's authorized representative, Biandrata. He arranged for the election of two separate superintendents before the two parties had even formulated their written and oral propositions as starting points for discussion. The differences proved insuperable, the separation of the two churches was sealed, and the Transylvanian Reformed (Calvinist) Church had its first superintendent in the person of Dávid. The existence of two Protestant denominations received a legal basis from the Diet at Torda on 4 June 1564, and Calvinism became, next to the Lutheran and Catholic denominations, the third *religio recepta* (legally acknowledged denomination).

Calvinism and the Romanians

Around the same time that Calvinism was accepted into the ranks of the *religiones receptae*, János II Zsigmond himself became a Calvinist. Soon afterward the first of two systematic efforts was mounted by the central political power to incorporate the Romanians in the region into

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[133] *Brevis confessio de sacra coena Domini ecclesiarum Saxonicarum et coniunctarum in Transylvania anno 1561. Una cum iudicio quatuor academiarum Germaniae super eadem controversia* (Corona, MDLXIII). The text can be found in Teutsch, *Urkundenbuch*, 39–59.

[134] *Compendium doctrinae Christianae, quam omnes pastores et ministri ecclesiarum Dei in tota Ungaria et Transylvania, quae incorruptum Iesu Christi amplexae sunt, docent et profitentur* (Claudiopolis, MDLXIII).

the Calvinist Church. This first campaign would last up to the 1570s. It had three main components:[135] the offer of material inducements to Romanian priests (liberation from levies and compulsory labor, in some exceptional cases even elevation to nobility); the establishment of a clerical governing body for Calvinist Romanians (a Calvinist Romanian bishop); the circulation of church books in the Romanian vernacular.

The first Romanian Calvinist bishop appointed by János II Zsigmond, Gheorghe of Sîngeorgiu/Sîngeorz (c. 1566–1568), apparently was from the former lands of the margrave of Brandenburg (in Haţeg and Hunyad), which had early come under the influence of Lutheranism. Gheorghe was elevated to nobility and decreed "superintendent and bishop" and sole religious leader of the Romanians by the Diet at Hermannstadt on 30 November 1566.[136] The same assembly ordered the expulsion of those Romanian priests who did not convert to the "true faith." These new provisions were carried out, however, with less than complete rigor. The assemblies convened by bishop Gheorghe in the following years were not well attended, and he himself was seen by a majority of the Orthodox clergy as an adherent of an "impure faith," not as a church leader. This was documented in the bishop's reports to the royal court in 1567 and in the proceedings of the Diet at Torda in 1568, which stated that there remained many Romanians in the country who had yet to submit to the Calvinist bishop, continuing instead to follow their old priests.[137]

Several synods in 1568 and 1569 attempted to reshape the church life of Transylvania's Romanians. Minor changes were prescribed for liturgy

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[135] On the Romanians and the Reformation see István Juhász, *A reformáció az erdélyi románok között* [The Reformation among the Transylvanian Romanians] (Kolozsvár, 1940); Antal Bitay, *Az erdélyi románok a protestáns fejedelmek alatt* [The Transylvanian Romanians under the Protestant Princes] (Dicsőszentmárton, 1925); Imre Révész, *La Réforme et les Roumains de Transylvanie* (Budapest, 1937). More recent overviews may be found in Ernst Christoph Suttner, "Die rumänische Orthodoxie des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts in Auseinandersetzung mit der Reformation," *Kirche im Osten. Studien zur osteuropäischen Geschichte und Kirchenkunde* 25 (1982), 64–120; Alexander Ungvary, *The Hungarian Protestant Reformation in the XVIth Century under Ottoman Impact* (Lewiston, 1989), 185–200; Ágnes Ritoók-Szalay, "Il Ruolo mediatore del' Ungheria nella missione protestante orientale," in Robert Sauzet (ed.), *Les frontières religieuses en Europe du XV au XVII siècle* (Paris, 1992), 291–299; cf. to this paragraph Zach, *Orthodoxe Kirche*, 167f. See also Maria Crăciun, "Building a Romanian Reformed Community in Seventeenth-Century Transylvania," in Maria Crăciun, Ovidiu Ghitta, and Graeme Murdock (eds.), *Confessional Identity in East-Central Europe* (Aldershot, 2002), 99–120, here 100.

[136] See also Gheorghe I. Moisescu, Ştefan Lupşa, and Alexandru Filipaşcu, *Istoria bisericii române* [History of the Romanian Church], vol. 1 (Bucharest, 1957), 364f.

[137] Ibid., 365.

and rituals; masses for the dead were banned as well as some prayers and rules from the Typikon. Much importance was placed on encouraging church services in the vernacular,[138] which is evident from the publication in rapid succession of several Romanian-language church books. A span of less than five years (1566–1570) saw the publication of a translation of the Gospels, commentaries on the Gospels (Cazania), a book of songs and rituals (Molitvelnic), another songbook, and a book of liturgy. While the songbook and the Gospel commentaries were for the most part translations of Hungarian texts used in the Calvinist Church, the books on rituals and liturgy incorporated many elements from the practices of Orthodox church service.[139]

Antitrinitarianism

Italian representatives of a "theologizing humanism" reached Hungary and Transylvania by way of Poland.[140] Among the best known and most effective were the two physicians Francesco Stancaro (1501–1574) and Giorgio Biandrata (1515–1588). Stancaro's views on Christology caused a stir in Hungary and Transylvania in the 1550s and elicited forceful denunciations from leading Lutheran clergy. Based on Stancaro's teachings, his pupil, Tamás Arany,[141] took a first step toward

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[138] Alexandru Mareș, *Liturghierul lui Coresi* [Coresi's Book of Liturgy] (Bucharest, 1969), 5f.

[139] Ibid., 28; Alexandru Mareș, "Cînd și unde s-au tipărit Tîlcul evangheliilor și Molitvelnicul românesc? [Where and When Were the Explanation of the Gospels and the Romanian Book of Rituals Printed?]," *Limba română* 16/2 (1967), 119–130, here 127f.; Ion Gheție, "Coresi și Reforma în lumina unor interpretări noi [Coresi and the Reformation in the Light of New Interpretations]," *Studii și cercetări lingvistice* 18/2 (1967), 231–238, here 237. Most of the Romanian Church books mentioned above were printed by Coresi, with the Calvinist nobleman Forró as patron for the Cazania and the Moltivelnic, while the second Calvinist Romanian bishop Pavel Tordási/Turdaș performed this function for the Psalterion and Liturgikon. The books were used not only in Transylvania but also in Wallachia. Cf. Zach, *Orthodoxe Kirche,* 169.

[140] Bucsay, *Der Protestantismus in Ungarn,* vol. 1, 132f.; Mihály Balázs, *Az erdélyi antitrinitarizmus az 1560–as évek végén* [Transylvanian Antitrinitarianism at the End of the 1560s] (Budapest, 1988), 11f.

[141] On Arany see the corresponding chapter in André Séguenny (ed.), *Bibliotheca Dissidentium. Répertoire des non-conformistes religieux des seizième et dix-septième siècles. Tome XII: Ungarländische Antitrinitarier* (Baden-Baden, 1990). A number of works focus on early Antitrinitarianism: István Borbély, *Unitárius polemikusok Magyarországon a XVI. században* [Unitarian Polemicists in Hungary in the 16th Century] (Kolozsvár, 1909); István Borbély, "Melyik évben kezdődött az unitarizmus Erdélyben? [When Did Unitarianism Begin in Transylvania?]," *Erdélyi Múzeum* 36

Antitrinitarianism in Debrecen in the 1560s. He was resolutely opposed by the region's Calvinist bishop, Melius.[142] Giorgio Biandrata was initially the personal physician to János Zsigmond and later became his counselor as well. His influence on Dávid, who proved to be highly versatile from a theological point of view, was most probably crucial for the dissemination of Antitrinitarian ideas in Transylvania. Even before Biandrata's arrival in 1563,[143] Dávid—who was certainly familiar with the writings of Servet—seems to have expressed reservations about the doctrine of the Trinity.[144] Starting in 1565 he regularly included Antitrinitarian thoughts in his sermons and tried to persuade other clergy and his closest associates to adopt his views. He was not able to persuade Heltai, a Calvinist preacher in Kolozsvár at the time, and the Calvinist-leaning Lutheran clergyman Titus Amicinus rejected Dávid's views, too, as did Balázs Szikszai Fabricius, who had come to Kolozsvár from Sárospatak in 1564 as school rector.[145] Dávid had more success

(1931), 224–239; István Borbély, *A magyar unitárius egyház hitelvei a XVI.* században [The Fundamental Tenets of the Hungarian Unitarian Church in the 16th Century] (Kolozsvár, 1944); József Pokoly, "Az unitarizmus Magyarországon [Unitarianism in Hungary]," *Protestáns Szemle* 10 (1899), 28–44, 150–167, 228–246, 285–304, 375–39; Pokoly, *Az erdélyi református egyház története*, vol. 1, 30–165; Jenő Zoványi, *A magyarországi protestantizmus 1565–től 1600-ig* [Protestantism in Hungary from 1565 to 1600] (Budapest, 1977), 11–56; Friedrich Trechsel, *Die protestantischen Antitrinitarier vor Faustus Socin*, 2 vols. (Heidelberg, 1839–1844); Stanislaus von Dunin-Borkowski, "Die Gruppierung der Antitrinitarier des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Scholastik* 8 (1932), 482–523; Delio Cantimori, *Eretici italiani del Cinquecento* (Firenze, 1939); Wilbur, *A History of Unitarianism in Transylvania, England and America*, 16–180; Pirnát, *Die Ideologie der Siebenbürger Antitrinitarier*, 161–187; Antonio Rotondo, "Verso la crisi dell'antitrinitarismo italiano. Giorgio Biandrata e Johann Sommer," in his *Studi e ricerche di storia ereticale italiana del Cinquecento* (Torino, 1974), 161–223.

[142] Melius published the material of a religious debate with Arany in Debrecen in 1562. The text (*Az Aran Tamás hamis és eretnec tévelgésinec . . . meghamisítása* [Refutation of the False and Heretical Aberration of Tamás Arany] provides an outline of Arany's "heretical teachings." Cf. Tibor Klaniczay's introduction to Dán, *Antitrinitarianism in the Second Half of the 16th Century*, 7–11, here 9; Wilbur, *A History of Unitarianism*, 31.

[143] This was Biandrata's second sojourn in Transylvania. He had served as personal physician to Izabella in Gyulafehérvár from 1544 to 1551.

[144] In addition to Servet's works, those of Erasmus, too, were certainly influential in the conception and development not only of Dávid's criticisms of dogma but also for his ideas on the freedom of individual choice of religion. Cf. to this section Zoványi, *A magyarországi protestantizmus*, 11f.

[145] Szikszai, the rector of the town school, regularly took his meals at the town pastor's house—a customary practice at the time—so that the two men had ample opportunity to exchange views. It was apparently very important to Dávid to win the learned and influential pedagogue over to his side. Szikszai resisted and finally began to avoid Dávid's company, even staying away from his church services. The relationship between

with the Lutheran preachers Lukács Egri[146] and Lajos Szegedi, then active in Kolozsvár, as well as with István Basilius,[147] who had returned to the town in 1556.

As superintendent of the Calvinist Church Dávid was of course in a prominent situation, but he was also in an influential position. When Melius, the Calvinist bishop of Debrecen, sharply attacked Dávid and his growing number of Antitrinitarian followers, the king ordered a disputation at Gyulafehérvár on the question of the Trinity. It began on 24 April 1566 and lasted four days (one day longer than planned). Biandrata and Dávid presented their Antitrinitarian theories publicly here for the first time, beginning with an impressive plea for the content of the Apostolic Creed,[148] and Melius, arriving from the Partium, responded with counterarguments.[149] The compromise that was finally reached is summarized in the text *Sententia concors* (1566), which was written in the spirit of Melius. (Melius himself had to combat Antitrinitarian ideas that were being promulgated in his own area by such preachers as Lukács Egri, who had returned to Eger from Kolozsvár). János Zsigmond heaped praise on Melius after the disputation and gave him money to refurbish the printing press in Debrecen.

A further consensus (similar in content to the *Sententia concors*) was adopted at Marosvásárhely on 19 May 1566 at a general synod of clergy who were under the jurisdiction of Dávid. The same year Dávid revised the Heidelberg Catechism and gave it a clearly Antitrinitarian pitch.[150] Melius responded sharply after a synod at Debrecen in February 1567, characterizing Dávid and his followers as heretical adherents of

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the two men came to an open rupture when Dávid tried to influence Szikszai's pupils. Apparently these developments somewhat dampened Dávid's reforming zeal, for on 12 November 1565 Biandrata wrote to the town pastor of Kraków, asking him to send an encouraging letter to Dávid, which did indeed arrive soon after. See ibid., 12.

[146] For more on Egri's life and work see András Szabó, "Lukács Egri," in Séguenny, *Ungarländische Antitrinitarier*, 127–150.

[147] For more on the life and work of István Basilius see Mihály Balázs, "István Basilius," in ibid., 51–104.

[148] The theses may be read in the *Sententia Concors* (1566), which is printed in Peter Bod, *Historia Hungarorum Ecclesiastica*, vol. 1 (Lugdunum Batavorum, 1888), 400–405.

[149] The report on the disputation appeared in the same year: *Disputatio prima Albana* (Claudiopolis, 1566).

[150] *Catechismus Ecclesiarum Dei in natione Hungarica per Transilvaniam, quae relicto papistico Deo quaterno, verbum Die de sacrosancto Triade, uno vero Deo Patre, et Filio eius, Domino Iesu Christo ac amborum Spiritu amplexe sunt simplicitateque pia ac puritate illud credunt ac profitentur* (Claudiopolis, 1566).

Sepsiszentgyörgy. Remains of the church fortification (15th ct.) (Engraving by J. Richter, after a drawing by L. Rohbock. Courtesy of the Siebenbürgisches Museum Gundelsheim)

Servet.[151] With Melius having established the *Confessio helvetica posterior* as binding in Upper Hungary, the doctrinal boundaries were clearly drawn between his and Dávids jurisdictions.[152]

Under the influence of his court physician, Biandrata, and his court clergyman, Dávid, János II Zsigmond had by the beginning of 1567 deviated far enough from his initial religious views that the Transylvanian Hungarian superintendency (in the absence of the staunch Calvinists) could, in a brief creed adopted at the Torda synod of 13 February, openly embrace the new—Antitrinitarian—direction without fear of invoking the disapproval of the ruler.[153] Hungarian

[151] *Brevis confessio pastorum ad synodum Debretini celebratam* (Debretinum, 1567). Cf. Reinerth, *Die Gründung der evangelischen Kirchen*, 293f. The *Articuli majores* of the simultaneously published (and somewhat more detailed) Hungarian translation contain—even in the parts devoted to administrative questions—polemical passages against Dávid and his followers to the effect that promulgators of such teachings should be thrown out of the church and put to death by armed force of the authorities. In: Áron Kiss, *A XVI. században tartott magyar református zsinatok* végzései [The Decrees of the Hungarian Reformed Synods of the 16th Century] (Budapest, 1881), 594–597.

[152] Cf. to this paragraph also Fata, *Ungarn, das Reich der Stephanskrone*, 107f.

[153] Little of the doctrine of the Trinity was left in it: Jesus Christ is God's only son, through whom and with whom the faithful direct their prayers to God the Father; the

and Saxon Calvinists, especially in Kolozsvár, kept their distance from Dávid and his followers; Amicinus and Heltai gave up their pastorates in the second half of 1567, and Károlyi left town for Nagyvárad in the fall. Meanwhile, Antitrinitarianism spread among the nobility and through the towns of Transylvania. Numerous clergy at synods and other assemblies expressed their agreement with Dávid's teachings. No later than the end of the year 1567 the king supported the Antitrinitarians openly; the princely press in Gyulafehérvár, operated by Raphael Hoffhalter, printed numerous Antitrinitarian publications in the following years.[154]

Dávid, too, published five books here in rapid succession, among them two in Hungarian. Under the title *Refutatio scripti Petri Melii, quo nomine synodi Debrecinae docet Jehovalitatem et trinitarium Deum, patriarchis, prophetis et apostolis incognitum*, Dávid responded to the Calvinist creed that had been adopted in 1567 under Melius, and opposed to it the creeds of synods held at Marosvásárhely and Torda.[155] The first of the Hungarian books to appear was *Rövid magyarázat, miképpen az Antikrisztus az igaz Istenről való tudományt meghomályosította* [A Short Explanation of How the Antichrist Beclouded the Knowledge of the True God]. In the book Dávid used mostly historical arguments to outline the development of the doctrine of the Trinity and to demonstrate the (in his view) inadequacy of the Lutheran and Calvinist Reformation, referring also to Erasmus's critical edition of the Bible. Dávid considered the Reformation incomplete as long as a doctrine of the Trinity was being preached that had no basis in the Bible, for only after the abandonment of this doctrine—according to Dávid—would idolatry disappear from Christendom and the Kingdom of God be realized.[156] Dávid's second Hungarian publication (December 1567) bore the title: *Rövid útmutatás az Istennek igéjének igaz értelmére*

Holy Spirit is a part of God and Jesus, but not an independent, third person. See Pál Ember and Friedrich Adolf Lampe (eds.), *Historia Ecclesiae Reformatae in Hungaria et Transylvania* (Utrecht, 1728), 147–148; see also Borbély, *A magyar unitárius egyház hitelvei*, 13f. Cf. Zoványi, *A magyarországi protestantizmus*, 15.

[154] According to Zoványi, the first sharply worded polemic (no longer extant) was published by the Gyulafehérvár clergyman Császmai. The book contained illustrations disparaging the Trinity. In all likelihood Melius referred to it in the summer of 1567, as well as Tordai, the pastor of Déva, in his response. Császmai reacts in turn in a further publication in March 1568. See ibid., 18.

[155] In a preface addressed to the prince, Dávid and other leading Antitrinitarians request that their opponents be guaranteed full freedom to criticize them in spoken word and in print, for it is impossible to force the conscience and the soul, over which only the Creator can have command, to do anything, they argued.

[156] Cf. Fata, *Ungarn, das Reich der Stephanskrone*, 107.

[Brief Guide to the Right Understanding of the Word of God]. Here Dávid discussed above all the relationship between the Old and the New Testaments. In early 1568, a further work by Dávid appeared (*De falsa et vera unius Dei patris, filii et spiritus sancti cognitione*), which contained two parts, treating first the weaknesses of the doctrine of the Trinity and then the "right teachings" (with obvious Servetian influence).[157]

The Diet at Torda in 1568 and the Ensuing Religious Debates

From 6 to 13 January 1568, an assembly of the Diet took place at Torda at which the decrees concerning religion that had been passed at the Diet in 1564 were reconfirmed and enhanced:

> The preachers shall preach the Gospel and proclaim it, each according to his own understanding, and if the congregation wants to follow, so be it, if not, no one shall be compelled, for a soul will not find peace in this way, rather every man shall follow the preacher whose teachings appeal to him. For this reason, no superintendent or any other person shall do harm to the preachers; none shall suffer at the hands of others for religious reasons […], and it shall be permitted to no one to jail others or ban them because of the teachings, for faith is a gift of God and arises from the hearing that comes from God's Word.[158]

In 1568 a series of debates on religion began, attended by the religious and secular elite of the land, in which Calvinists and Antitrinitarians

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[157] See Zoványi, *A magyarországi protestantizmus*, 30f. Exactly what kind of overall impression the work made is not clear, but it contained a chapter that shocked people and caused a stir. Several different representations of the Trinity must have been perceived by the "orthodox" as an attempt to place the Trinity in the same category with multi-headed mythological beings such as Cerberus, the Hydra, and the Gorgon, and thus to bring it into ridicule. The chapter was titled *De horrendis simulachris Deum Trinum et Unum adumbrantibus* [Of the Gruesome Images that Depict the Threefold and the One God]. The pictures were not completely made up however; at least some of them were adapted from already existing representations (in churches, on tapestries, etc.), albeit with added commentary, including for example a three-headed figure on an altar with an explanation in the inscription that the two-faced Janus Bifrons has been driven from the city, so that henceforth the three-faced god should rule over the world; a two-headed, two-faced god on an altar, together with a representation of the descending Holy Spirit in the form of a halo (originally from a chapel in Kraków); a representation of the transubstantiation of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit in the host during the Eucharist (a tapestry in Rome); the three persons of the Trinity next to each other at a table, etc. Cf. Wilbur, *A History of Unitarianism*, 34f.; Carmen Florea, "Shaping Transylvanian Anti-Trinitarian Identity in an Urban Context," in Crăciun, *Confessional Identity*, 64–80, here 76–77.

[158] Quoted in: Zoványi, *A magyarországi protestantizmus*, 23.

focused mainly on the Trinity. After an opening dispute in Debrecen on 2 February, the parties met again a month later at the country's capital, Gyulafehérvár, in the context of a general synod. The venue for the event was the great hall of the royal palace, and the participants were Calvinists from the Partium and Lutherans, Calvinists, and Unitarians from inner Transylvania. Historians of Unitarianism in particular ascribe great importance to this synod. The proceedings are discussed in some detail here because they are representative of the numerous disputations in those years:

> The synod lasted ten days (from 8 to 17 March) and took place—according to the sources—in the presence of János II Zsigmond and all of the court counselors, including chancellor Mihály Csáky and privy counselor Gáspár Békes. The meetings began (daily) at 5 o'clock in the morning and started with opening prayers by Ferenc Dávid and Matthias Hebler. On the morning of the first day the king named eight referees, four from each side.[159] The disputants were Péter Melius (bishop of Debrecen), Péter Károlyi (rector from Nagyvárad), the preachers György Czeglédi (Nagyvárad), András Sándor (Déva), Pál Thúri (Bihar), and Lorenz Klein (Bistritz) for the Trinitarians; and Ferenc Dávid, Giorgio Biandrata, István Basilius (preacher from Kolozsvár), and the rectors Demeter Hunyadi (Enyed) and Pál Gyulai (Gyulafehérvár) for the Antitrinitarians. The Jesuit priest János Leleszi took part also, as an observer.
>
> Even before the discussions began the Antitrinitarian side protested against the conditions that had been stipulated by Melius, namely that not only the Holy Scriptures but also creeds and the writings of the Church Fathers were to be considered in order to substantiate arguments; that questions were not allowed; that the views of the disputants should be submitted to foreign universities for review; that the losing party would be punished. In the end, the Trinitarians conceded that Dávid and his party would be allowed to develop their positions exclusively from the Bible, while Melius insisted his party be allowed to draw on other sources as well. Regarding the sequence of topics to be debated, Biandrata's suggestion was accepted, that is, to begin with the Trinity and to end with the pre-existence of Christ.
>
> The leading spokesmen were Dávid and Biandrata for the Antitrinitarian side, Melius and Károlyi for the Trinitarians. In arguing his position on the Trinity, Melius cited several Bible passages that, in his view, reinforce the threefold unity of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Dávid's side responded

[159] For the Trinitarian party these were Hebler (bishop of the Transylvanian-Saxon Lutherans), Sebastian Károlyi (pastor of Broos), Gáspár Heltai, and Nikolaus Fabricius. The Antitrinitarian referees were the preachers Lajos Szegedi (Torda), István Császmai (Gyulafehérvár), Miklós Sztárai, and Pál Karádi, both from Temesvár. Further, two secretaries were named for each side.

> that the adduced Bible passages are not assertions but merely derivations and inferences and therefore they express only an intended and by no means a factual Trinity. Later in the debate Melius apparently encountered difficulties in finding the theological concept of God's Trinity in the Holy Scripture and had to take recourse to scholastic arguments, which Dávid in turn rebutted with reference to quotations from the Bible. The Antitrinitarian side continued to insist that the Bible did not contain a single passage in which the adoration of the Trinity occurs. In the question of the pre-existence of Christ, too, the positions of the two parties proved irreconcilable. Melius's arguments were in essence the same ones that were represented by Bullinger. Passages such as Ps 2:7, John 1:14, Jes 63:16, Col 1:15f. served as the basis for the primordial divinity of Jesus. Dávid countered with the Old Testament, in which, he argued, God nowhere makes reference to Jesus other than by looking forward to future events, which proves that Jesus was not born at the beginning of time, but later, in history. A stalemate also occurred in the debate over the accusation, made by each side against the other, that they were employing in their conceptualizations formulas and words ("person," "essence," "Trinity," "pre-existence," etc.) coined in philosophical-theological discourse, without having an exact reference in the Holy Scripture.[160]

Though the religious debate at the Gyulafehérvár synod had no clear winner—with each party clinging to its own position—, the Antitrinitarian side emerged stronger than before. Later that year both Melius and Dávid published detailed summaries of the debate.[161] Just

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[160] Kiss, *Zsinatok végzései*, 629–632; Jakab, *Dávid Ferenc emléke*, 109–128; Mihály Zsilinszky, *A magyar országgyűlések vallásűgyi tárgyalásai* [Negotiations in Religious Affairs at the Hungarian Diets], vol. 1 (Budapest, 1880), 141–143. For the religious debates of the years 1568–1569, cf. Géza Kathona, "Méliusz Péter és életműve [Péter Melius and His Oeuvre]," in Bartha, *A második helvét hitvallás*, 103–192. The paragraph is based on ibid., 163–166. "To be sure, both sides emphasized the authority of the Holy Scripture, but at every turn they tried to insert their own, ready-made formulas, employing contrived syllogisms that led ever further from Scripture. Melius even stooped to scholastic quibbling and cabbalistic arguments. In this all-out intellectual duel each side exhausted the last reserves of its dialectical arsenal, while intellect and passion silenced any loftier sentiments. Therefore it is not surprising that the ten-day-long dispute brought about no concrete result." In: ibid., 165. Later documents relate that, on returning to Kolozsvár, Dávid was carried through the streets in a triumphal parade and, after he gave a speech standing on a round stone at the corner of Torda and Belközép streets, the entire town declared itself Antitrinitarian. See Jakab, *Kolozsvár története*, 127–128.

[161] *Disputatio in causa sacrosanctae et semper benedictae Trinitatis indictione Sereniss. Principis etc. inter Novatores D. Georgium Biandratam, Franciscum Davidis, eorumque asseclas; Et Pastores Ministrosque Ecclesiae Die catholicae, ex Hungaria et Transylvania […] per decem dies, Albae Juliae in Transylvaniae habita […]* (Claudiopolis, 1568); *Brevis Enarratio Disputationis Albanae de Deo Trino et Christo Duplici coram Serenissimo Principe et tota Ecclesia decem diebus habita* (Alba Iulia, 1568).

a few months later, on 22 August 1568, another religious debate took place at a synod of Protestant clergy in Nagyvárad, at which. Dávid did not participate directly but delegated a representative, whose name is not known. This apparently had marked effects on the force of the Antitrinitarian arguments. The debate is recorded in the annals of the history of the Reformed Church as a clear victory for the Trinitarian side.[162] A final debate between the two religious parties took place from 20 to 25 October 1569 in Nagyvárad after an unplanned meeting at the beginning of the month in Debrecen, at which the verbal exchanges were exceptionally heated. That the elite of the Transylvanian Antitrinitarian movement ventured into the heart of Calvinist territory attested to their self-assurance (bolstered by royal support) and to their intention to have Antitrinitarian doctrines penetrate deep into Hungarian lands. Dávid invited the clergy of Transylvania to the Nagyvárad synod in a letter written in Hungarian. The invitations were accompanied by nine theses that cited, as warrants for a renewed debate, the misrepresentation of Antitrinitarianism by its opponents; the persecution of its followers (in the Partium); the wish of many believers, who did not know Latin, to receive explanations of the true faith in their native language. The Calvinist clergy of the Partium did not receive the invitations directly, but rather through the mediation of the king, who tasked the castellan Gábor Pekri of Nagyvárad with delivering them.[163]

For the first time, the disputants at a synod presented their arguments in Hungarian. The entire princely court was present, with János II Zsigmond at the head of many of the country's leading dignitaries. In addition to the spokesmen from the Gyulafehérvár debate, there appeared on Melius' side Farkas Pál Thúri (from Abaújszántó), Bálint Szikszai (Eger), György Czeglédi (Nagyvárad), Ádám Tordai (Marosvásárhely); and on Dávid's side Gáspár Heltai (since 1569 once again preacher in Kolozsvár), Georg Kratzer, and Pál Kozárvári (both of them also from Kolozsvár). Also in attendance as an observer was, once again, the Jesuit János Leleszi. As for the dogmatic positions of the two sides, they had not changed since the debate in Gyulafehérvár. The disputation proved extremely difficult for the Reformed side because of the king's frank bias in favor of the Antitrinitarians. When Károlyi com-

[162] See Ember, *Historia Ecclesiae Reformatae*, 253f.; Kiss, *Zsinatok végzései*, 640f.; Jenő Zoványi, *A tiszántúli református egyházkerület története* [History of the Reformed Church Territory Beyond the Tisza] (Debrecen, 1939), 19.

[163] Cf. to the religious debate in Nagyvárad: Kathona, "Méliusz Péter és életműve," 169–171.

plained that the Calvinist party was at a disadvantage, János Zsigmond made it unmistakably clear which side he was on:

> Neither from us nor from our followers have you ever had to suffer injury. And that Péter Melius has been informed by our proclamation that he should not play the pope in our realm, persecuting clergy because of the true religion, nor burn books, nor force his belief on anyone, then it is for the following reason: We wish that in our country—and so it says in the decree of the Diet—freedom shall reign. We know furthermore that faith is a gift from God and that conscience cannot be constrained. And if he does not abide by this, he may go to the other side of the Tisza.[164]

After six days the king ended the debate declaring that, in his realm, religion could be freely discussed in the future as well. He also expressed the hope that learned men from abroad might take part in future debates.[165]

On the wings of the obviously significant public resonance of the event, including a positive image of the Antitrinitarian side, Dávid planned to hold a public religious debate with the Saxon Lutherans as well, this time in German. It did not take place, however, because the Lutherans, although willing to debate in a written exchange, indicated at their November synod that they were not prepared to engage in an oral disputation. Over the next months large numbers of the Principality's inhabitants converted to Antitrinitarianism. While it may be doubted that the theological intricacies were actually understood by everyone, the attraction of the Antitrinitarian teachings lay to a large extent in their apparent simplicity, the central slogan being "There is but one God!" By 1570 numerous Hungarian and some Szekler villages, as well as many residents of Kolozsvár, adhered to the new faith.

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[164] Lajos Nagy and Domokos Simén (eds.), *Unitárius írók a XVI. évszázadból, I: A nagyváradi disputatio* [Unitarian Writers of the 16th Century, vol. 1: The Disputation at Nagyvárad] (Kolozsvár, 1870), 130–131.

[165] Ibid., 168–169. The play *Válaszúti Komédia* [Crossroad Comedy], written shortly after the debate, takes this historical event as its starting point. In it, the character named "Pope Péter" is modeled after the Calvinist bishop Melius, "Cardinal György" based on György Czeglédi, the Calvinist preacher from Nagyvárad, "Vicar Pál" on Ferenc Dávid, the "Italian physician" on Giorgio Biandrata. For more on this play see Jenő Zoványi, "A debreceni hitvita [The Religious Debate in Debrecen]," *Protestáns Szemle* (1894), 185–186; Elek Jakab, "Egy XVI. századi kiadatlan színmű [An Unpublished Play From the 16th Century]," *Koszorú* (1879), 337–366; Zsolt Alszeghy, *Magyar drámai emlékek a középkortól Bessenyeiig* [Early Hungarian Plays from the Middle Ages to Bessenyei] (Budapest, 1914), 99–129; János Barta and Tibor Klaniczay (eds.), *Szöveggyüjtemény a régi magyar irodalomból* [A Collection of Texts from Old Hungarian Literature], vol. 1 (Budapest, 1951), 274–289.

CHAPTER FIVE

UNDER CATHOLIC PRINCES

Preliminary Remarks

When the Catholic István Báthori ascended the Transylvanian throne in 1571, his latitude to pursue a policy of restoration in religious matters was limited. The internal autonomy of the three (now predominantly Protestant) *nationes*, their rights of codetermination in the Diet (for example in legislative and financial questions), and—of no less importance—their right to elect the prince secured a strong position for the estates in the ongoing power struggle between Diet and the ruler. Moreover, the three Protestant church institutions were legally recognized, and it would have taken the approval of the (Protestant dominated) Diet to change the laws that protected them. The potentialities for pro-Catholic influence on the denominational constellation in Transylvania lay elsewhere, and Báthori would exploit them as best he could.[1]

A logical starting point was to support the remaining Transylvanian Catholics and resume ties with the Vatican. Further steps included obtaining free access for the Jesuits (who had been back in the country since 1576) and enabling the establishment of a Jesuit college at Kolozsvár in 1580/81. Above all, however, Báthori took advantage of the dissent among—and often within—the recently formed denominations in order to weaken the Protestant camp, given that none of the three Protestant *religiones receptae*, despite their considerable gains, was close to obtaining complete dogmatic and organizational stability.

István Báthori, the Lutheran Church, and the natio Saxonica

Immediately after ascending the throne, Báthori addressed the Lutheran clergy with a number of demands that, from the Lutheran point of

[1] For more on this topic, see Walter Daugsch, "Gegenreformation und protestantische Konfessionsbildung in Siebenbürgen zur Zeit Stephan Bathorys (1571–1584)," in Weber, *Luther und Siebenbürgen*, 215–228.

view, represented attempts to interfere with both the teachings and the organization of the church. Báthori stipulated that the Lutherans recognize the *confessio Augustana invariata* as a binding article of faith[2] and that they distance themselves from the "false teachings" of the Calvinist and Unitarian churches. He also claimed the right to fill the then vacant Lutheran superintendency with a man of his choosing from among three candidates proposed by the church synod.[3] A further opportunity to exercise influence lay in the different liturgical practices in the Lutheran parishes. Báthori required the preservation of those variants of the worship service that retained elements of the Catholic mass (including, among other things, the use of vestments and pictures of the saints).[4] Besides encroaching on the ecclesiastical autonomy of the Lutheran Church—and thereby also on the corporative autonomy of the *natio Saxonica*—, Báthori's demand that the Lutherans denounce Calvinist and Unitarian doctrines and condemn the outstanding personalities of these churches (above all Biandrata, Dávid, and Heltai) went so far as an attempt to break existing laws, since decrees of the Diet in 1564 and 1568 had made it illegal to attack the clergy of the received religious communities over differences in teaching.[5] The participants at the Lutheran synods in 1571 and 1572 complied with only one of Báthori's demands; they signed the Augsburg Confession, but they rejected both the standardization of the liturgy and the condemnation of Calvinists and Unitarians. Nor did they propose three candidates for the office of superintendent, rather they elected Lucas Unglerus to that office, for whom the prince finally issued the nominating document.[6]

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[2] On the compromise-character of the Augsburg Confession and on how it emphasizes the compatibility of Reformation and Catholic doctrines, see for example Heinrich Bornkamm, "Augsburger Bekenntnis," in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol. 1 (Tübingen, 1957), 3d ed., columns 733–736, here column 735; Leif Grane, *Die Confessio Augustana. Einführung in die Hauptgedanken der lutherischen Reformation* (Göttingen, 1970), 17f.; Wilhelm Maurer, *Historischer Kommentar zur* Confessio Augustana, vol. 1: *Einleitung und Ordnungsfragen* (Gütersloh, 1976), 33; Herbert Immenkötter, *Der Reichstag zu Augsburg und die* Confutatio (Münster, 1979), 29f. With this requirement Báthori got around the legally sanctioned autonomy of the *natio Saxonica* with respect to religious matters. On István Báthori, see, for instance, Endre Veress, *Báthory István király* [King István Báthory] (Budapest, 1937). In 1576, Báthori was crowned King (consort) of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania.

[3] Since 1553 (even before Lutheranism became a *religio recepta*), the head of the Lutheran Church had been elected at synods without outside interference.

[4] Cf. Daugsch, "Gegenreformation," 219f.

[5] Szilágyi, *Monumenta Comitialia*, vol. 2, 231; Teutsch, *Urkundenbuch*, vol. 1, 94f.

[6] Johannes Höchsmann, "Zur Geschichte der Gegenreformation in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen," *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 26 (1894), 522–560.

István Báthori (Contemporary engraving. Courtesy of the Siebenbürgen-Institut Gundelsheim)

The Weakening of the Antitrinitarian Movement

In May 1572 the Diet strengthened an earlier decree forbidding further religious reform. Tied to this new ban on innovation was an expansion of the prince's executive discretion; he now had the express right, together with the responsible superintendent, to initiate an investigation of suspicious persons and, should church authorities determine that deviant teachings were being promulgated, to punish the accused as he saw fit.[7] The decree was directed primarily against the radical faction among the Transylvanian Antitrinitarians. Already that summer

[7] Just a year and a half earlier the Diet had enacted a decree with the following wording: "Ha valamely minister criminalis excessusban találtatik, azt a superintendens megítélhesse, minden funkcijójától privalhassa, azután az országból kiüzettessék. [Should it be discovered that any clergyman has transgressed this law, so shall the superintendent pass judgment on him and may relieve him of all offices and thereafter shall he be banished.]" In: *Erdélyi Országgyűlési Emlékek*, vol. 2, 374. Cf. to this paragraph Pirnát, *Die Ideologie der Siebenbürger Antitrinitarier*, especially 166f. See also Wilbur, *A History of Unitarianism*, 57–98.

the watchful eyes of the political authority had fixed on three young Antitrinitarians. They were freshly returned from Italy, and in public debates they had denied the immortality of the soul. According to a contemporary report, Ferenc Dávid, under whose jurisdiction the young men had offended and now remained free, declined to excommunicate them and thereby openly placed himself on a collision course with Báthori.[8] Further measures against the Unitarians included the introduction of a limited ban on the publication of Antitrinitarian writings[9] and ordinances calling for the expulsion of foreign citizens, especially prominent Antitrinitarians from Poland, the German territories, and Italy. Báthori also insisted on exercising the right of patronage in order to suppress Unitarianism in denominationally mixed areas.[10]

Meanwhile, theological contentiousness increased among the Antitrinitarians. In addition to the doctrine of justification, the adoration of Jesus was an important question. Although the conservative position presumably still prevailed at the synod in Enyed (1573), by the end of that year Ferenc Dávid wrote a letter to Jacobus Palaeologus expressing his fear that his church could be accused of innovation. In May 1575 the Diet decreed that the right of the Antitrinitarian Church to hold synods

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[8] A letter of 4 December 1572 by a Transylvanian student in Heidelberg, Mihály Paksi, to Josias Simler of Zurich gives information on this development: "Illud, quod horrendum est lectu, tibi significare prope oblitus fueram. Redierunt estate superiore ex Italia in Transylvaniam juvenes tres, studiosi profanae philosophiae. Ii antequam Italiam peterent Ebionitae fuerant. Nunc animarum immortalitatem publicatis thesibus impugnant.[…] Princeps Transylvaniae hos cum Francisco Davidis ad se venire jussit, interrogavit- que Franciscum, num idem cum illis sententiat: Respondet Franciscus, in quibusdam consentire se, quaedam vero adhuc nondum satis probare. Indignatus princeps eos a suo conspectu ejici mandavit, cum his verbis adjectis: Apage hinc foedissime heretice!" Printed in: *Miscellanea Tigurina*, part 2 (Zurich, 1723), 2d ed., 220–221. The names of the three "abominable heretics" are not known, but their designation as former "Ebionites" is noteworthy. This may be a reference to early Transylvanian Sabbatarians.

[9] Mihály Balázs, "Antitrinitarismus und die Zensur in Siebenbürgen in den 1570er Jahren," in József Jankovics and S. Katalin Németh (eds.), *Freiheitsstufen der Literaturverbreitung. Zensurfragen, verbotene und verfolgte Bücher* (Wiesbaden, 1998), 49–66.

[10] An example of the latter is the decision issued on 20 April to appoint a "reliable orthodox [Lutheran] pastor in the parish of Broos." In another case from the spring of the same year, Báthori pressures Imre Csanádi, the preacher of Kalotaszentkirály, to renounce Antitrinitarianism. A telling impression of Báthori's policy on religion may be gained from a letter of 10 September 1574 to Pope Gregory XIII. For more on the events in Broos and on the letter to the pope, see Endre Veress, *Báthory István erdélyi fejedelem és lengyel király levelezése* [The Correspondence of István Báthory, Prince of Transylvania and King of Poland] (Kolozsvár, 1944), vol. 1, 298 and 321; on Csanádi: Karl Landsteiner, *Jacobus Palaeologus. Eine Studie* (Wien, 1873), 40–41. Cf. Pirnát, *Die Ideologie der Siebenbürger Antitrinitarier*, 114 and 167.

was limited strictly to Torda and Kolozsvár. But this could not stem the tide of the new teachings; within the Temesvár superintendency, and apparently also at some places in the Szekler lands, the non-adoration of Jesus was publicly preached starting in 1576.[11]

In March 1578 Dávid called a synod at Torda. The 322 participating pastors rejected infant baptism and accepted the *communis prophetia* for the clergy. For Dávid this synod inaugurated the fundamental reworking of the Unitarian doctrine. It also sounded the opening of the decisive round in the vehement interdenominational debates that would end with Dávid being condemned and imprisoned. In the summer of 1578 Dávid held public debates with teachers and clergymen from Kolozsvár who—beside Biandrata—were the leaders of the conservative Antitrinitarian faction: Demeter Hunyadi, István Basilius, István Szathmári, and Johann Eppel. At a further synod in the fall Dávid presented his theses against the adoration of Jesus.

Biandrata endeavored in numerous ways to sway his longtime ally. Privately and in public he expressed his criticisms of Dávid's views and he enlisted the aid of leading Antitrinitarian ideologues from abroad; Faustus Socinus of Basel came to Kolozsvár in 1578, bringing with him a letter from the Polish Antitrinitarians that was intended to change Dávid's mind. Socinus stayed in Dávid's house and, over the next five months or so, the two men debated intensively, above all on the question of the adoration of Christ. Four succinct theses of Dávid's were the starting points: It is a strict commandment of God not to invoke anyone but God the Father, the Creator of heaven and earth; Christ himself taught that no one else should be invoked but God the heavenly Father; it is firmly established that the only true invocation is based in the Spirit and in the Truth and directed toward the Father; prayers are to be directed not to Christ but to the Father.[12]

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[11] On this section see ibid., 168f.

[12] "1) Dei mandatum extat severissimum, extra Deum patrem creatorem coeli et terrae, neminem invocandum esse. 2) Christum Magistrum veritatis docuisse neminem invocandum esse praeter patrem coelestem. 3) Invocatio vera esse definitur, quae fit in spiritu et veritate ad patrem. Ergo falsa est quae fit ad filium. 4) Formulae orationis directae, non ad Christum, sed ad Patrem referuntur." In: Károly Szabó and Árpád Hellebrandt (eds.), *Régi Magyar Könyvtár III-dik kötet. Magyar szerzőktől külföldön 1480-tól 1711-ig megjelent nem magyar nyelvű nyomtatványoknak könyvészeti kézikönyve* [Old Hungarian Library. Vol. 3: Bibliography of prints by Hungarian authors, published abroad in foreign languages between 1480 and 1711] (Budapest, 1896), 702. Quoted by Pirnát, *Die Ideologie der Siebenbürger Antitrinitarier*, 175. Cf. Wilbur, *A History of Antitrinitarianism*, 71; Binder, *Grundlagen und Formen der Toleranz*, 153.

Socinus responded to these tenets in detail, to which Dávid replied with a further document that was intended to support them. Finally, at a synod in February 1579, he presented his position in ten theses, which met with the approval of the assembly. Biandrata then petitioned the prince to remove Dávid from office, and one month later the town council of Kolozsvár received the corresponding princely order. At the end of March Ferenc Dávid was arrested, but the unrest excited by the affair delayed the Diet that was to judge his case. Finally, in early June 1579, the Diet in Gyulafehérvár found Dávid guilty of innovation, and the church leader was imprisoned in the fortress Déva, where he died in November of the same year.

The Antitrinitarian Church under Demeter Hunyadi (1579–1592)

In July 1579 Demeter Hunyadi became the second superintendent of the Antitrinitarian Church.[13] His name does not appear in the sources on the theological debates of the 1570s until 1578. It was only in this year that Biandrata prevailed upon him to oppose Dávid, thus significantly strengthening the ranks of those against the untiring innovator. Hunyadi, who enjoyed great prestige as rector of the Kolozsvár college, participated in a number of the debates leading up to Dávid's conviction. He was a member of the commission appointed by the Diet to audit the latter's income and, with Biandrata, was among the leading spokesmen against Dávid at the Diet in Gyulafehérvár.[14]

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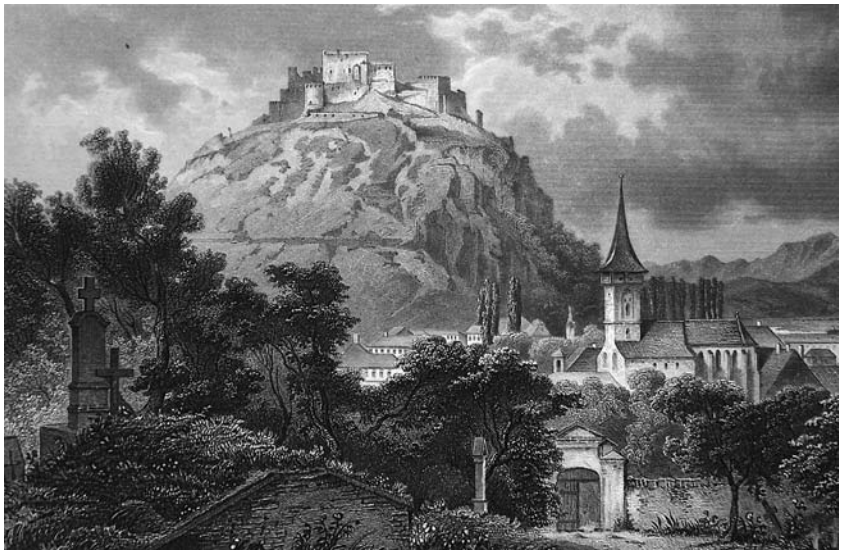
[13] Official designations for the newly established denominations can be found for the first time in the decrees of the Diet at Gyulafehérvár in 1595. Here the terms Catholic (or Roman), Lutheran, Calvinist and Arian are used for the individual *religiones*. Cf. Teutsch, *Urkundenbuch*, 101–102. The appellations "Reformed" (for Calvinist) and "Unitarian" (for Antitrinitarian/Arian) do not appear in official documents until later (see for example the decrees of the Diet of Léczfalva (25 October 1600) in: ibid., 102).

[14] Hunyadi was probably born in Bánffyhunyad, sometime between 1545 and 1550. Beginning in 1560 he attended the town school in Kolozsvár. In the mid 1560s he was appointed rector of the school at Enyed. Hunyadi early joined the Antitrinitarian movement and soon became one of its most important representatives. His sensational appearance in 1568 at the debates in Gyulafehérvár probably led—with the support of the prince—to his being sent to the University of Padua that same year, where he studied for three years. After his return in May 1571 he taught Aristotelian logic at the Unitarian college in Kolozsvár. See Annamária Pozsár, "Demetrius Hunyadi," in André Séguenny (ed.), *Bibliotheca Dissidentium. Répertoire des non-conformistes religieux des seizième et dix-septième siècles. Tome 23: Ungarländische Antitrinitarier III* (Baden-Baden, 2004), 11–47. Cf. to this section ibid., 11–18. For an evaluation of



Déva (Engraving by G. Heisinger, after a drawing by L. Rohbock. Courtesy of the Siebenbürgisches Museum Gundelsheim)

In addition to the institutional consolidation of the church, one of the most important aspects of Hunyadi's tenure as superintendent was the dogmatic standardization of the Unitarian doctrine. There is no doubt that his collaboration was decisive both in the elaboration of the Confession of Faith (2 July 1579), which paid special attention to the adoration of Christ,[15] and in the adoption of the Confession at the synod on Three Kings Day 1580. In the following years Hunyadi turned his efforts to establishing Socinian dogmatics, which he considered to be valid, especially in questions of Christology. On the one hand, he pursued this policy to a significant extent through personnel decisions; he removed Miklós Bogáti Fazakas from his position as rector of the Unitarian college at Kolozsvár and, beginning in 1580, banned several

Hunyadi's superintendency in the context of older church historiography, see Sándor Székely, *Unitária vallás történetei Erdélyben* [History of the Unitarian Denomination in Transylvania] (Kolozsvár, 1839), 84–86.

[15] *Consensus ministrorum Anno 1579 die 2 Julii Claudiopoli in nomine Domini congregatorum, de divinitate, adoratione, invocatione, regnoque Christi, ex libris sub Rege mortuo impressis ac publicatis*, published in Elek Jakab, *Kolozsvár története* [History of Kolozsvár], vol. 2 (Budapest, 1888), 22.

Antitrinitarian preachers who leaned toward anti-adorationism. On the other hand, Hunyadi was aware of the precarious situation of his church and knew that excessive dogmatism would do more harm than good. Thus, teachers from the sphere of the radical-minded Gerendi were allowed to teach at the college in Kolozsvár, influential nobles could protect non-adorationists or Sabbatarians, and the Kolozsvár Transylvanian Saxons elected the anti-Socinian Erasmus Johannis as their preacher.[16]

Hunyadi fought energetically against the Jesuits, who were supported by the prince and whose expulsion he called for from the early 1580s on. At numerous Diets he presented theological arguments against the Jesuits and the Catholic Church, thus contributing to the eventual adoption of a decree that banished the order in 1588.[17] Around 1590 Hunyadi sharpened his tone against the various radical Protestant trends in Transylvania. In June 1592 Antitrinitarian clergymen were summoned to a synod at Torda by an invitation that expressed the intention "to cut down and extirpate with the weapons of the spirit all the distorted views of the godless sects." The decrees that codified this aim have not been preserved—reportedly they included the excommunication of at least seven pastors and other disciplinary measures against clergy in the Szekler lands.[18] But in the end Hunyadi's efforts to standardize church dogma did little to bar the existence of many radical Protestant nuances that flourished inside his church. When he died shortly later (early July 1592), an observer (admittedly, a less than impartial one) prophesied the imminent disintegration of the Antitrinitarian Church.[19]

[16] Pozsár, "Demetrius Hunyadi," 17.

[17] The decree was adopted primarily for political reasons. For more on Hunyadi's anti-Jesuit engagement at the Diets see the letter from Matthias Thomány to the Austrian Jesuits (May 22, 1581) published in Ladislaus Lukács (ed.), *Monumenta Antiquae Hungariae*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1976), 120–121; the letter from István Szántó to the Jesuit superior general Claudio Aquaviva (Kolozsvár, 1 September 1581) in ibid., 194; the letter from Jakobus Wujek to Aquaviva (Gyulafehérvár, 17 Mai 1588) in ibid., vol. 3, 138–139.

[18] Pozsár, "Demetrius Hunyadi," 18.

[19] Letter from the Jesuit Alfonso Carillo to his superior general Claudio Aquaviva (Kolozsvár, 13 July 1592) in: Lukács, *Monumenta Antiquae Hungariae*, vol. 3, 818–819. For more on the confessionalization process among the Transylvanian Unitarians see Mihály Balázs, "Gab es eine unitarische Konfessionalisierung im Siebenbürgen des 16. Jahrhunderts?" in Leppin, *Konfessionsbildung und Konfessionskultur*, 135–152.

The Nobility Between Antitrinitarianism and Catholicism

The *natio Hungarica*, the estate of nobles in the Transylvanian Principality, consisted already in the late 1560s almost exclusively of Protestants. Most of the nobles had converted early to Lutheranism, many of them shifted their religious affiliation again with the rise of Calvinist doctrines, and then, following János II Zsigmond in his final change of denomination, became Antitrinitarians. The chronicler Sebestyén Borsos writes of this period:

> Since the King had chosen the *religio ariana*, almost the whole country leaned that way; many of their most gracious Lordships stood by the side of the King, like the Kendys and many others, also Kolozsvár, Torda, Dés, and some villages in the Szekler lands, and some landowners, together with the leading Szekler personalities turned to these teachings.[20]

In the 1570s a tendency toward a Protestant equilibrium can be assumed within the *natio Hungarica*. The Antitrinitarian faction remained strong as before, but quite a few Lutheran noblemen are known from this time as well (for example Sándor Kendy and János Gálffy), and the Calvinist group increased in size. Moreover, it was not uncommon in those days that several denominations should be represented among the members of one extended family.[21] Multiple individual conversions in all directions among the nobles were not unusual either, nor was further experimentation in religious matters.[22]

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[20] Sebestyén Borsos, "Krónika," in Imre Mikó (ed.), *Erdélyi Történelmi Adatok [Transylvanian Historical Data]* (Kolozsvár, 1855), 28. Cf. to this paragraph Ildikó Horn, "Der ungarische Adel als Träger der Reformation in Siebenbürgen," in Leppin, *Konfessionsbildung und Konfessionskultur*, 165–177.

[21] Horn cites the example of the Petki family: The father, Mihály Dersi Petki, was a staunch Antitrinitarian; in the early 1570s he refused to have his two sons baptized. After his death family members arranged for the baptisms: Ferenc was baptized Catholic, while his brother János Petki (who would later become chancellor), was baptized Lutheran. János Petki converted to Unitarianism later in life. See the archives of the Petki family in the Library of the Romanian Academy of the Sciences, Cluj-Napoca, Mss. KJ 256/III, 172–206; and in the Hungarian State Archive, Budapest, P707, fasc. 516, Nr. 2596. Cf. Horn, "Der ungarische Adel," 168.

[22] The chancellor of Transylvania from 1578 to 1594, Farkas Kovacsóczy, apparently migrated among all the denominations that were available in the country. Kovacsóczy's temporary affiliations with Catholicism as well as with all three Protestant churches are documented. Religiously active outside the *religiones receptae* were András Eőssi (Sabbatarianism) and János Gerendi ("Gerendism"). See Elek Jakab, "Gerendi János és Franken Keresztély [János Gerendi and Christian Francken]," *Keresztény Magvető* (1893), 36–37; Antal Pirnát, "Gerendi János és Eőssi András [János Gerendi and András Eőssi]," *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 74 (1970), 680–684.

When political collaboration occured among the various interest groups of the *natio Hungarica*, it was not the result of denominational considerations; nobles of differing denominational hue shared political views and were often indeed friends. This phenomenon is further illustrated by the result of the struggle to succeed János II Zsigmond; despite the overwhelming number of Protestant nobles (mostly Antitrinitarians), a Catholic, in the person of István Báthori, won the Transylvanian crown over his Antitrinitarian opponent, Gáspár Békes. The priority of the political in relation to the denominational showed itself most blatantly in the 1570s, when Békes's party twice tried to seize power without success; for his fellow Antitrinitarian noblemen other considerations trumped those of denomination, such as political constellations abroad (1571) or, later, the question of the legitimacy of the elected ruler (1575).[23]

There was no lack of exhortations from representatives of the churches in these times to support whomever *they* thought was the right man, nor of astute propagandistic exploitation of denominational differences. On the eve of the princely election Ferenc Dávid warned of potentially grave consequences for the Antitrinitarian Church should anyone accede to the throne who was not an energetic supporter of Unitarianism. Four years later Catholic observers described the struggles between Békes's followers and those of Báthori as a war of denominations.[24] While this last claim was certainly (and probably intentionally) false, Dávid's and others' premonitions regarding the church policy of Báthori would prove true; Antitrinitarianism was put gradually on the defensive as Báthori rigorously—and to the detriment of the Unitarians—enforced the ban on innovation, issued partial bans on publications, and purposefully indulged moderate Protestantism.

All the while putting more pressure on the institutions of radical Protestantism, the prince promoted some capable Unitarian individu-

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[23] See Horn, "Der ungarische Adel," 169.

[24] On the quite plausible warnings by Dávid and Sommer see Pirnát, *Die Ideologie der Siebenbürger Antitrinitarier*, 33–38; a version of the events of 1575 that most probably bears little resemblance to the realities may be read in a letter by the Spanish Jesuit Alfonso Pisa from 4 July 1575, published in Lukács, *Monumentae Antiquae Hungariae*, vol. 1, 504–506. Cf. Horn, "Der ungarische Adel," 170f. To be sure, there were more Unitarians among Gáspár Békes's factionists, but Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists also fought in his army, which was supported by the Habsburgs. And on the side of the Catholic prince Báthori stood numerous important Unitarian nobles (Kristóf Hagymássy, Gáspár Kornis, Farkas and Mihály Kornis, as well as the subsequent Transylvanian prince, Mózes Székely).

als to leading (and thereby exposed) political positions.[25] However, this should not obscure the fact that between 1571 and 1580 most of the politicians who had been dominant at the time of János Zsigmond (all of them Unitarian) had either died or disqualified themselves through ill-considered actions. There were indeed Unitarians among the new leading personalities under Báthori, but they were a numerically small subset of the denominationally mixed, albeit in the beginning still predominantly Protestant leading stratum. This began to change at the latest in 1588, when Zsigmond Báthori (István Báthori's nephew) came of age and succeeded to the Transylvanian throne. He made it a clear priority to prefer Catholics in his personnel decisions. In addition to the intensified appointment of Catholics (including those who had converted from Unitarianism) to positions of trust in the state apparatus, efforts in foreign policy went toward intensifying the political, religious, and cultural relations between Transylvania and Italy (the Vatican, but also Florence) as well as between Transylvania and the House of Habsburg.[26] In response, a trend toward Protestant solidarity can be observed, starting no later than the beginning of the 1590s. The Protestant elite, in many cases consisting of interdenominational family alliances, tried to counteract Transylvania's involvement in the Catholic anti-Ottoman alliance, which they considered politically inopportune. The attempt included efforts at the international level, for example intensified contacts with the Calvinist, anti-Habsburg Palatinate (on the

[25] This includes the following people: the count of Kolozs, György Wass, and the royal judges of the Szekler seat Udvarhely: Farkas Kornis and Mihály Petki. Unitarian dignitaries pronounced judgment on the conspirators in the failed rebellion of (Unitarian) Gáspár Békes. However, Unitarian nobles were also the chief beneficiaries of the Békes revolt; they received most of the land confiscated from those who were condemned. Cf. ibid.

[26] Responding to pressure from the Diet, Zsigmond Báthori expelled the Jesuits in 1588. But as early as 1591 Pope Sixtus V sent the Jesuit priest Alfonso Carillo, a highly regarded diplomat, to the Transylvanian court in order to assess the possibilities of an anti-Ottoman alliance. On Carillo, see László Szilas, *Alfonso Carillo jezsuita Erdélyben (1591–1599)* [The Jesuit Alfonso Carillo in Transylvania (1591–1599)] (Budapest, 2001); Endre Veress, *Carillo Alfonz jezsuita atya levelezése és iratai* [The Correspondence and Other Documents of the Jesuit Father Alfonso Carillo] (Budapest, 1943). On Zsigmond Báthori, see István Bartók, "A gyulafehérvári fejedelmi udvar és az ifjú Báthory Zsigmond [The Princely Court in Gyulafehérvár and the Young Zsigmond Báthory]," in *Magyar reneszánsz udvari kultúra* [Hungarian Renaissance Court Culture] (Budapest, 1987), 135–158; Mihály Balázs and István Monok, "Történetírók Báthory Zsigmond udvarában [Chroniclers at the Court of Zsigmond Báthory]", in *Magyar reneszánsz udvari kultura*, 58–66; Ambrus Somogyi, "Báthory Zsigmond első évei [The First Years of Zsigmond Báthory]," in *Erdély öröksége* [The Heritage of Transylvania], vol. 2 (Budapest, 1993), reprinted ed., 62–78.

Zsigmond Báthori (Contemporary engraving. Courtesy of the Siebenbürgisches Museum Gundelsheim)

Rhine), and with England. On the other hand, although the Protestant high nobility continued to educate their sons at Heidelberg, there were always conversions to Catholicism of ambitious young noblemen who wanted to assure themselves of a successful career at court.[27]

In 1594, as a result of intensifying political conflict on the home front and against the background of a drastically changing situation abroad, Zsigmond Báthori felt compelled to crack down on the Protestant—predominantly Antitrinitarian—opposition. In late August and early September the most influential pro-Ottoman nobles were beheaded in Kolozsvár, while many others were jailed. The following year would be the year of anti-Ottoman alliances: Báthori allied himself (politically and by marriage with the daughter of archduke Karl von Habsburg, Maria Christierna) with the court at Prague, and with the princes of Moldavia and Wallachia. The Transylvanian estates fell more and more

[27] Shortly after their return from Heidelberg in 1592, the former Unitarians Miklós Bogáthy and Ferenc Wass went to Rome to continue their studies, having received a recommendation from the Jesuit Carillo and a stipend from the Catholic prince Zsigmond Báthori.

into the role of enforcers for Báthori, who that same year prevailed in his efforts to bring the Jesuits back to Transylvania and to reinstate the Catholic diocese of Transylvania. In the person of Demeter Náprágyi a Catholic bishop took up residence in the Gyulafehérvár palace for the first time in 50 years.

Antitrinitarians, "Judaizers," "Gerendists," and Sabbatarians

The spread of Antitrinitarianism since 1568 and the subsequent development of non-adorationist ideas formed the basis for the increasing influence of "judaizing"[28] teachings around 1580. Especially as a result of the protracted infighting between entrenched positions within the Antitrinitarian camp, some of the bolder exegetical questions had become familiar topics among broader sections of the population. Individual interpretations of Holy Scripture became widespread.[29] Such a casual way of dealing with religious texts prepared the ground for an intensified turn to the contents of the Old Testament and the rise of the Sabbatarian ideology, which became popular especially in the ranks of Ferenc Dávid's followers.

The teachings were received particularly well among the Szeklers, thanks in no small part to a series of social and political changes during those decades that affected large portions of the population in the sensitive areas of historical traditions, social structures, and rights and privileges. The progressive loss of collective freedoms since 1562 accelerated the rise of a few into the nobility and the passing of many into serfdom, and finally it generated more or less the overall dissolu-

[28] Róbert Dán, "'Judaizare'—the career of a term," in Dán and Pirnát, *Antitrinitarianism*, 25–34.

[29] The Chronicler Ferenc Nagy Szabó describes this phenomenon: "Akkori napokban hallottál volna egész Erdélyben minden helyeken a köznéptől sok esztelen disputaciot, falun és városon, étel-ital között, estve-reggel, éjjel és nappal. [Wherever you went in those days you could hear any amount of mindless disputation by the common people, in the country and in the town, while eating and drinking, evenings and mornings, day and night.]" Nagy goes on to put these words in the mouth of a Calvinist clergyman: "A tanulóházban nem ülhetek, úgy fú a sok parasztság rám és azt kérdik, hol vagyon a Szentháromság a Bibliában. [I can no longer sit in the reading room, the peasants regale me so with questions about where the Trinity might be in the Bible.]" In: *Nagy Szabó Ferenc Krónikája* [The Chronicle of Ferenc Nagy Szabó], printed in Mikó Imre (ed.), *Erdélyi Történelmi Adatok*, vol. 1 (Kolozsvár, 1857), 29. Cf. Dán, *Az erdélyi szombatosok*, 32–47.

tion of the unified *natio Siculica.* The process was protracted and the participating actors were persistent. On the one side stood the Szekler communities, which struggled to hold on to their way of life as free peasants and farmers, to their collective rights and responsibilities, their judicial freedom and their right to manage their own affairs, as well as to their military virtues. On the other side stood the princely power, the officials, the castle captains, and the tax collectors.[30] The ideological opposition of the Szeklers to the prince had shown itself at the denominational level as well since the time of János Zsigmond: Under this ruler, who became an Antitrinitarian in his final years, broad swaths of the Szekler lands persisted in the Catholic faith, while under the Catholic Báthori a large portion of the Szeklers became Protestant, most of them Antitrinitarian, and after 1580 many turned to Sabbatarianism.[31]

The content of this emerging faith harmonized well with the Szeklers' traditions. The ideal of equality that shone out of the Pentateuch, the emphasis on freedom of the individual, the legal and moral principles—all this bore clear traces of a former, genealogical organization and found parallels among the Szeklers. The Sabbatarian belief system reinforced their traditions (which they held to be eternally valid) with the divine revelation of the Old Testament and lifted these traditions from the worldly to the theological level. In this light, maintaining the Szekler freedoms seemed a matter of religious obligation, their curtailment on the other hand, a sin, with all the attendant soteriological consequences. The vague assumptions that circulated at that time about a relationship between the writing and language of the Old Testament and that of the Szeklers also contributed to the rapid spread of the Sabbatarian movement.[32] Of course, not all Szeklers became Sabbatarians,

[30] For more on the judicial relationships within the Szekler estate and the uprisings against state power see for example the works of István Imreh, *A törvényhozó székely falu* [The Judicial Szekler Village] (Bucharest, 1983); Lajos Demény, *Székely felkelések a XVI. század második felében* [Szekler Rebellions in the Second Half of the 16th Century] (Bucharest, 1976); Lajos Demény, *A székelyek és Mihály vajda. 1593–1601* [The Szeklers and the Voivode Mihai. 1593–1601] (Bucharest, 1977).

[31] Cf. to this paragraph Dán, *Az erdélyi szombatosok*, 33f. For an overview on the Sabbatarians see also Pákozdy, *Der siebenbürgische Sabbatismus*.

[32] Sándor Szilágyi (ed.), *Szamosközy István történeti maradványai* [The Historical Fragments of István Szamosközy], vol. 2 (Budapest, 1976), 377f.; Ferenc Toldy (ed.), *Baranyai Decsi János magyar historiája 1592–1598* [The Hungarian History of János Decsi Baranyai 1592–1598] (Pest, 1866); József Hegedüs, *A magyar nyelvhasonlítás kezdetei* [The Beginnings of Hungarian Comparative Linguistics] (Budapest, 1966).

and not all Sabbatarians were Szeklers; the movement had adherents in the Ottoman-occupied areas of Hungary, too. Sympathizers with and adepts of Sabbatarianism came from many social levels: nobles, town craftsmen, innovative preachers, and simple peasants were among them. But the main pillars of Sabbatarian teaching, from the beginnings in the 16th century to the end of the movement in the 20th century, were the Szeklers of eastern Transylvania.

In its early phase the movement received decisive impulses from the events surrounding Ferenc Dávid. When conservative Antitrinitarians tried to further defame the condemned church leader by attributing any and all religious innovations to him, the attempt backfired, at least as far as Sabbatarianism was concerned. Naming the esteemed Dávid as the initiator—even as a martyr—of these teachings incited several of his followers to join the Sabbatarian movement who otherwise most likely would not have done so.[33] Dávid's ideological role in the rise of Sabbatarianism was, however, by no means so central. As early as the 1580s, the Jesuit Antonio Possevino signaled the presence of several radical Antitrinitarian, "heretical" movements in Transylvania, including the Sabbatarians.[34] Among the early promulgators of Sabbatarian teachings, András Eőssi stands out. A chronicler in Marosvásárhely, Ferenc Nagy Szabó, writing in 1650, erroneously describes Eőssi as a founder:

> As far as I can remember, the Arian [that is, Antitrinitarian] religion renewed and divided itself yet again around the year 1588. For a nobleman lived in Szenterzsébet by the name of András Eőssi, and this man—I say—read so long in the Bible until he retrieved from it the Sabbatarian religion, which he made many people believe by explaining the well-known passages of the Bible to his simple parish. In this way one faith quickly became two, that is, the Arian and the Sabbatarian. And both were spread widely, especially among the Szeklers, and were observed in extended regions.[35]

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[33] Róbert Dán, "Matthias Vehe-Glirius és Dávid Ferenc [Matthias Vehe-Glirius and Ferenc Dávid]," *Magyar Tudományos Akadémia II. Oszt. Közlemények* 27 (1979), 185–207.

[34] Endre Veress (ed.), *Antonio Possevino: Transilvania (1584)* (Budapest, 1913), 104, 136, 139.

[35] Imre Mikó and Károly Szabó (eds.), *Erdélyi Történeti Adatok*, 4 vols. (Kolozsvár, 1855–1862), here vol. 1, 29: "…úgymint a mint emlékezem 1588-ik esztendő tájatt esmét megújula és kétfelé szakada az arianus vallás: mert Szent-Erzsébeten lakik vala egy főember, kinek Eőssi András vala neve, ez—mondom—addig olvasá a bibliát, hogy szépen kitalálá belölle a szombatos vallást, és nagysokakat elhitetett vala, a szentírásnak

Nagy Szabó concludes from Eőssi's early, Hungarian-language Sabbatarian writings, which were in circulation in the 17th century, that Eőssi himself must have been the founder of the movement. This (mistaken) view was also represented in relevant literature way into the 20th century, for example by Samuel Kohn.[36] That role of ideological founder must, however, be attributed to a radical Antitrinitarian from the Palatinate, Matthias Vehe-Glirius, who had been active in Kolozsvár during the years 1578–1579, until he was expelled by the town council.[37] From the 1580s on Transylvanian Sabbatarian authors began to produce a large number of texts. Apart from András Eőssi, whose early polemic writings bear the stamp of works by Vehe-Glirius (*Liber fundamentorum, Mattanjah*), only a few names are known from this early period (up to 1595): Enók Alvinczi, Tamás Pankotai, and Simon Péchi. A few decades later, after the sudden termination of his high-level political career, the latter would become the leading figure of the movement in the 17th century.

Contemporary (especially Jesuit) sources use the terms *sabbatarius, judaeus*, and *semijudaeus* quite freely and often interchangeably in their portrayal of the many diverse movements that formed the religious landscape in Transylvania in the 1580s. How wide the spectrum was on the left fringe of the Reformation is shown by the example of János Gerendi. In a report to Claudio Aquaviva (superior general of the Jesuits), the Jesuit monk István Szántó described Gerendi as a theoretician and leading figure of Sabbatarianism, whose followers were known as "Gerendists."[38] The nobleman Gerendi was a declared enemy of the Jesuits; at the Diet of Mediasch in 1588, speaking in the name of the estates, he urged the prince to expel the order. Gerendi had studied in

világos locusait mutogatván a nagy együgyű községnek; és így csakhamar két vallás lőn az egyből, úgymint arianus és szombatos vallás. E pedig igen elterjedett vala főképpen a székelységen mind a kettő, hogy nagy darab tartományok oltalmazzák vala."

[36] Sámuel Kohn, *A szombatosok. Történetük, dogmatikájuk és irodalmuk. Különös tekintettel Péchi Simon főkancellár életére és munkájára* [The Sabbatarians: Their History, Teachings, and Literature—With Particular Attention to the Life and Work of the Chancellor Simon Péchi] (Budapest, 1889), 42.

[37] Róbert Dán, *Matthias Vehe-Glirius. Life and Work of a Radical Antitrinitarian with his Collected Writings* (Budapest, 1982).

[38] This report by István Arator Szántó to the Jesuit superior general Claudio Aquaviva has been published in: Endre Veress (ed.), *Jézus társasága évkönyveinek jelentései a Báthory korabeli erdélyi ügyekre (1579–1613)* [The Reports of the Yearbooks of the Society of Jesus on the Affairs Concerning Transylvania from the Time of the Báthoris (1579–1613)] (Budapest, 1921), 201.

Gerend (Detail of an engraving by J. Umbach, after a drawing by L. Rohbock. Courtesy of the Siebenbürgisches Museum Gundelsheim)

Padua (beginning in 1575) and since 1585 had held an office on the princely board of judges. Over the years he tended more and more to radical Protestant views, later to freethinking and to a philosophical atheism that bore the stamp of Christian Francken.[39] Around the middle of the 1580s it was known that Saturday was a day of rest on his lands in Gerend, and certain rules—though only a few—were followed with respect to diet and the slaughtering of livestock. The innovation-friendly nobleman had introduced some Old-Testament laws under the influence of the poet-theologian Miklós Bogáti Fazakas, who was a frequent guest in Gerend starting from 1582.[40] The error in ascribing the group around Gerendi to Sabbatarianism is shown by the Sabbatarians' own statements, in which they clearly distance themselves from those who keep the laws only selectively, while they, the Sabbatarians, want to obey *all* the Old-Testament laws. Szántó's blanket assignment of the political opposition to a radical group does not appear historically justified, but was rather part of a strategy to discredit the members of the opposition.[41]

[39] Antal Pirnát, "Arisztoteliánusok és antitrinitáriusok [Aristotelians and Antitrinitarians]," *Helikon* 17 (1971), 363–392; Antal Pirnát, "Gerendi János és Eőssi András." Cf. to this section Dán, *Az erdélyi szombatosok*, 40f.

[40] See ibid., 41.

[41] On the Gerendists as political opponents of the Jesuits, see Dénes Szittyai, *Epistolarium P. St. Aratoris* (Budapest, 1949), 327.

The Orthodox Church under the Báthoris

István Báthori counteracted the Calvinization of the Orthodox Romanians that his predecessor had initiated by purposefully advancing the cause of the Orthodox clergy through the issuance, for instance, of a Certificate of Privileges, dated 3 August 1572, and by establishing an Orthodox Church hierarchy at the highest level as counterweight to the already existing Romanian Calvinist Church leadership.[42] On 5 October 1571, the year of his accession, he named the Moldavian monk Eftimie (hegumen of the monastery Neamț) Orthodox bishop. The hierarch was anointed six months later in Peć by the Serb patriarch Makarios. By building up hierarchical structures for the Orthodox Romanians in Transylvania, Báthori—as János Zsigmond had done in his time by establishing Romanian-Calvinist episcopates—was also pursuing foreign-policy objectives vis-à-vis the neighboring Danubian principalities: The aim was apparently to weaken the ecclesiastical relations—or at least the relations of partial dependence—between the (lower-level) Transylvanian Romanian clergy and the church leaders in Wallachia and Moldavia.[43]

At this time (1574) the old bishopric of Vad was occupied again and another (regional) bishopric (with seat in Szilágysomlyó/Şimleu Silvaniei) had been functioning intermittently since 1571 on the lands of the Báthori family. This enabled the Jesuit Antonio Possevino to write in 1584 of a high Orthodox church hierarchy in Transylvania, consisting of a metropolitan in Gyulafehérvár (which would remain the seat of the hierarch into the 18th century) and two suffragan bishops in the already mentioned areas.[44] In 1574 Eftimie returned to Moldavia

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[42] See for this paragraph Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria bisericii românești și a vieții religioase a românilor* [History of the Romanian Church and of the Religious Life of the Romanians], 2 vols. (Bucharest, 1928–1930), here vol. 1, 183f.; Radu Mârza, "Die orthodoxe Kirche der Rumänen aus Siebenbürgen: Konfession und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert," in Leppin, *Konfessionsbildung und Konfessionskultur*, 179–190, here 185f.

[43] But see also the work of István Juhász, *A reformáció az erdélyi románok között* [The Reformation Among the Transylvanian Romanians] (Kolozsvár 1940, 93), who very rightly recognizes in the creation of an Orthodox Church hierarchy in Transylvania a long-term strengthening of the connection between the churches there and those in the Danubian principalities.

[44] Augustin Bunea, *Vechile episcopii românești ale Vadului, Geoagiului, Silvașului și Bălgradului* [The Old Romanian Dioceses Vad, Geoagiu, Silvaș, and Bălgrad (Gyulafehérvár)] (Blaj, 1902), 45–61; Cesare Alzati, *Terra Romena tra Oriente e Occidente.*

and there became the head of the diocese of Roman.[45] His successors in the leadership of the Orthodox Church in Transylvania were Cristofor (1574–1579), Ghenadie (1579–1585), and Ioan of Prislop (1585–1605). Further measures taken under the Báthoris' rule strengthened the Orthodox church organization: the introduction of general church synods, and the right of the clergy—bolstered by a decree of the Diet (Torda, 21 October 1579)—to elect bishops, who would then be confirmed by the prince.[46] Finally, and not least important, as a result of the good relations between Zsigmond Báthori and the prince of Wallachia, Mihai Viteazul, a series of steps were taken starting in 1595 that would lead to a consolidation of the Orthodox Church in Transylvania.

The Reformed Romanians

In addition to the newly reconfirmed Orthodox sees, the Romanian Calvinist bishopric continued to exist during the reign of István Báthori. In 1571, one month after the nomination of Eftimie as Orthodox bishop, the Diet adopted a law intended to maintain everything relating to the Romanian Calvinist church hierarchy "as it was at the time of János Zsigmond's death."[47] However, due to the change of direction in the political leadership's policy on religion, and to the privileges accorded to the Orthodox Church, this decree would have limited effect. Without the political support it had received during the last years of János II Zsigmond's reign, and without the clearly defined mandate that was zealously carried out by Reformed missionaries, the Romanian Calvinist Church in Transylvania declined in importance over the next years. After the death of János Zsigmond it owed its existence as an ecclesiastical institution on the one hand to the successes achieved by the Calvinist mission among the Romanians (especially of southwestern Transylvania) and, on the other hand, to the support of a few Calvinist nobles. When bishop Pavel Turdaș (Tordási) died in 1577, the

Chiese ed etnie nel tardo '500 (Milan, 1981), 116; cf. Mârza, "Die orthodoxe Kirche," 185–186.

[45] Iorga, *Istoria bisericii românești*, 183–184.

[46] Szilágyi, *Monumenta Comitialia*, vol. 3, 144.

[47] Ibid., vol. 2, 507. Cf. to this section Juhász, *A reformáció az erdélyi románok között*, 95–97.

Diet (Torda, April 1577) decreed that the "Wallachians, who had been separated from the Greek faith [that is, the Eastern Church] and had received the Word of God in their own language" should elect a new bishop, "so that among them, too, the true proclamation of the Word of God shall not cease, but shall continue."[48] The formulation is revealing in that it not only expresses the minority status of the Calvinists within the Transylvanian Romanian community, but also refrains both from mentioning ambitious missionary aims and from precisely defining the exact jurisdiction of the new bishop. The election fell to Mihai Turdaș (Tordási), who—as his predecessors had done—retreated to his family lands at Tordás (next to Orăștie/Szászváros) and from there oversaw the Romanian Calvinist parishes of a severely contracted geographic area in the regions of—here with their Romanian names—Hunedoara, Zărand, Lugoj, and Caransebeș. He initiated the first translation of the Pentateuch into Romanian, the Palia de la Orăștie, which was carried out in 1581–1582 with reference to Heltai's Hungarian translation (published in 1551) and to the Vulgata. The work was completed on 14 July 1582 and bears, in addition to Turdaș's name, the names of his collaborators: Ștefan Herce (preacher in Caransebeș), Efrem Zacan (rector of the school in Mühlbach/Sebeș), Moisi Peștișel (preacher in Lugoj), and Achirie (archpriest of the Hunyad/Hunedoara county).[49]

Denominational Formation and Witch Trials in Kolozsvár, 1565–1593

In the aftermath of the Reformation new and old ecclesiastic institutions disdained, combated (with varying success), or tolerated and eventually integrated into their own teachings various "magical," "animistic," and "pagan" notions related to natural events, rites of passage, and folk medicine. A quick pass through the history of the persecution of witches in Kolozsvár in the second half of the 16th century provides a look into early modern outgrowths that resulted from "disturbing the universe of folk-magic beliefs,"[50] and in which the Reformation played a role.

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[48] Szilágyi, *Monumenta Comitialia*, vol. 3, 118.

[49] Păcurariu, *Istoria bisericii române*, 557f.; Juhász, *A reformáció az erdélyi románok között*, 96.

[50] See the chapter "Witch-Hunting in Hungary: Social or Cultural Tensions?" in Gábor Klaniczay, *The Uses of Supernatural Power: the Transformation of Popular Religion in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Princeton, 1990), 151–167, here 156f.

Nineteen women were accused of sorcery in Kolozsvár between 1565 and 1593, and thirteen were condemned to death (six in 1584 alone).[51] The records of these cases reveal a great deal of variety, both of accusations and of motivations for pressing charges. At one end of the spectrum are disputes with neighbors (accusation: the neighbor's land or animals have become unfruitful through magic); unpaid debts (denunciations by servants and/or tenants); the desire for revenge after disputes (charges of witchcraft against women who have testified against their future accusers in a legal dispute). To these may be added cases in which so-called "adept women" accused each other reciprocally of having injured people with their arts.[52]

Apparently the most common cases were the ones that the literature describes as side effects of confessionalization processes. Adherents of the evolving denominations—Catholic as well as Protestant—made vigorous attempts to suppress traditional folk beliefs. Accusations were directed against healers, herb collectors, and midwives. For eight of the nineteen cases the sources indicate no economic, social, or any other kind of conflict. Some women were charged with casting love spells. In three of these cases the motivation for the charges was jealousy. The testimony in a trial from 1584 contains further elements of traditional beliefs: The accused apparently claimed that she fell into a trance, journeyed in the form of a fly, and commanded other supernatural powers. Another case concerned the possession of a book of magic that allegedly could help people discover hidden treasure.[53] Magical healing was criminalized in 1584 as well. This was a first not only for Kolozsvár but for the entire former Hungary. The law was based on the reasoning that such healing could only be successful when the healer had bewitched the patient beforehand.[54]

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[51] Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára* [Archive of Documents Regarding Witch Trials in Hungary] (Budapest, 1910), 3–74. Further literature on this topic: Friedrich Müller, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Hexenglaubens in Siebenbürgen* (Braunschweig, 1854); Carl Göllner, *Hexenprozesse in Siebenbürgen* (Cluj-Napoca, 1971); Ferenc Schram, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek 1529–1768* [Witch Trials in Hungary 1529–1768], 2 vols. (Budapest, 1970); Gábor Klaniczay, "Witch-trials in Hungary (1520–1777): The accusations and the popular universe of magic," in Bengt Ankarloo and Gustav Henningsen (eds.), *Early Modern European Witchcraft: Centres and Peripheries* (Oxford, 1989); László Nagy, *Erdélyi boszorkányperek* [Transylvanian Witch Trials] (Budapest, 1988).

[52] As in the first three trials documented in 1565. See Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek*, 1–13.

[53] Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek*, 44–55.

[54] Ibid., 70.

Two influential citizens of Kolozsvár, a Calvinist and a Catholic, exemplify the persecutors in the witch trials. The Calvinist, Mihály Ígyártó, sponsor of numerous ordinances against adultery and author of a catalog of punishable immoral acts, was one of the most zealous persecutors of witches. One of the actions that constituted grounds for suspicion in his view was participation in a carnival parade.[55] Péter Grúz, on the other hand, a militant Catholic, was among the accusers in Kolozsvár's first witch trials.[56] The historical and socio-religious phenomena detailed in these paragraphs deserve more careful consideration with respect to what they may indicate concerning the influence (or side effects) that confessionalization and denomination formation had on older elements of popular religiosity. Meanwhile, the examples of Mihály Ígyártó and Péter Grúz suggest a causality working in the opposite direction: Taking action against early modern expressions of traditional beliefs (fertility rites, magical healing, and others) united representatives of various Christian denominations.[57]

[55] Klaniczay bases this observation on the results of an evaluation of archives by the Kolozsvár historian András Kiss. See Klaniczay, "Witch-Hunting in Hungary," 158, note 14.

[56] Jakab, *Kolozsvár története*, vol. 2, 201.

[57] See also the contributions in: Thomas Wünsch (ed.), *Religion und Magie in Ostmitteleuropa. Normierungsprozesse in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Münster, 2006).

CHAPTER SIX

AROUND THE TURN OF THE 16TH CENTURY

Developments in Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy

In 1593, after 25 years of relative calm, Hungary once again became the scene of a war against the Ottomans.[1] The decision of the 21-year-old Transylvanian prince Zsigmond Báthori to join the Holy League was welcomed by the pope and Emperor Rudolf II, but the prince encountered determined resistance on the home front. While a majority of the estates were favoring peace and maintenance of the status quo, and were refusing to follow Zsigmond's lead at the Diet at Torda in 1594, luck on the battlefield shifted away from the Christian allies; the vigorous counterattack of the grand vizier Sinan Pasha put an end, at least for the moment, to a string of victories by the Christian armies. Nevertheless, Zsigmond, who in the meantime had abdicated and then returned to power a few weeks later, finally prevailed over the opposing forces and removed their leaders. Transylvania's membership in the Holy League was solemnized at Prague in the beginning of 1595.

The brutal manner in which Zsigmond Báthori ended the internal power struggle struck Transylvania's Protestant elite to the quick; with the exception of Boldizsár Báthori (the prince's cousin), the twelve most important leaders of the opposition who were executed on Báthori's orders were all Protestants, indeed mostly Unitarians. Other Protestant nobles, too, were punished by confiscation of their property and by imprisonment, with the result that numerous Protestants, especially the families of the executed, converted to Catholicism for fear of reprisals.[2]

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[1] Köpeczi, *Erdély története*, vol. 1, 522f. The monograph by Meinolf Arens, *Habsburg und Siebenbürgen. Gewaltsame Eingliederungsversuche eines ostmitteleuropäischen Fürstentums in einen frühabsolutistischen Reichsverband* (Cologne, 2001) is an excellent study of the Habsburgs' efforts regarding Transylvania around the turn of the 17th century. Significant parts of this chapter, especially the historical narratives, are indebted to Arens's work.

[2] Boldizsár Szilvássy was arrested and became Catholic after being pardoned. István Kendy, son of the executed Sándor Kendy, did the same. The sons of the executed

Measures against the Sabbatarians

The decrees of the Diet at Gyulafehérvár on 16 April 1595 put additional pressure on radical Protestantism in Transylvania. Article 17 stipulated that those who remained outside the *religiones receptae* were to be hunted down and punished "by counts and royal judges [...] without regard to the rank of the person."[3] In contradistinction to the ban on innovation that was repeated seemingly pro forma by Diets before and after this date, the text of this article calls for the royal judges to participate in the persecution of religious innovators and their followers.[4] Against the background of bitter power struggles in domestic politics, in which religious affiliation was part of the arsenal, the measures were directed against a strong radical Protestant faction around the Kornis family, András Eőssi, and Ferenc Balássi. Farkas Kornis especially, whom the Jesuit Possevino had accused of supporting heretics already in 1583 and who himself (together with Mihály Petki) had been a royal judge at the seat of Udvarhely since 1571, was a target of the attacks.[5] (It is noteworthy that the same Diet adopted decrees that would enable the Jesuits to build up their presence in the country.) Writing in 1618–1620, the chronicler Tamás Borsos, who later served several Transylvanian princes in his career as a diplomat, described the measures decreed by the Diet at Gyulafehérvár in 1595 as being aimed explicitly against the Sabbatarians. He mentioned the *capitaneus* of Udvarhely, Benedek Mindszenti, as an energetic persecutor of Sabbatarians in the summer of 1595. This figure even appeared in a Sabbatarian song that tells how the "accursed captain" forced many Sabbatarians to leave their homeland.[6] The persecution abated with the restoration of Szekler liberties by Báthori in September 1595 and the military clashes in Wallachia soon thereafter (in which Mindszenti was also involved).

Kovacsóczy soon thereafter began attending a Jesuit school. Further conversions to Catholicism occurred in the families Bogáthi, Wass, Tholdalagi, Kornis, and Haller. See *Monumenta Antiquae Hungariae*, vol. 4, 47, 562; Mihály Balázs (ed.), *Jezsuita okmánytár* [Archive of Jesuit Documents], vol. I/1, *Erdélyt és magyarországot érintő iratok 1601–1606* [Documents Regarding Transylvania and Hungary 1601–1606] (Szeged, 1995), 18–20, 150–153. Cf. Horn, "Der ungarische Adel," 176.

[3] Szilágyi, *Monumenta Comitialia*, vol. 3, 472.

[4] See Dán, *Az erdélyi szombatosok*, 84f.

[5] Ildikó Horn, "Le cercle de Farkas Kornis. Les stratégies des élites unitariennes (1575–1603)," in Mihály Balázs and Gizella Keserű (eds.), *György Enyedi and the Central European Unitarianism in the 16th–17th Centuries* (Budapest, 2000), 90–95.

[6] Dán, *Az erdélyi szombatosok*, 85.

In the summer of that same year another group of Sabbatarians stepped unwillingly onto the political stage by signing a letter to the pasha of Buda. Anticipating the approach of Ottoman armies, the Sabbatarians professed submission to the Sultan. They wrote that, in view of the hostile and "godless" rule of the Transylvanian princes, they preferred to place themselves under the protection of the "mighty Emperor." The signatories emphasized further the common elements between their belief system and the Islamic religion, stressing in particular the strict belief in one God and the agreements in dietary laws (refraining from consumption of pork is cited twice). Following a biblical model, they proposed to mark their houses with a sign, so that the Ottomans, on taking the town, would recognize them as allies and not molest them.[7] While the radical Protestants among the high nobility generally felt themselves obliged to take positions based on cool-headed political calculation (Kornis went into battle against the Ottomans at Mindszentis's side), this other group of Sabbatarians, consisting of tradesmen and lower nobility, took a different path. The letter was, however, intercepted and charges were brought against those who had signed it.

The Báthoris and the Szeklers

In the summer of 1595 Transylvania's armed forces advanced on two fronts. On the western border they were able to wrest a number of fortresses (including Lippa) from the Ottomans, and in October 1595, together with troops of the Wallachian prince Mihai Viteazul, Transylvanian contingents won a decisive victory over Sinan Pasha at Giurgiu on the Danube. To enable this successful campaign it had been necessary for Báthori to make a number of concessions to the Szeklers, who would form the greater part of his army. In September 1595 the prince formally restored their traditional privileges. But then, returning from the Danubian front, Báthori encountered discontented nobles who had been sorely affected by the loss of their Szekler serfs. Therefore, the prince reversed his decision, much to the chagrin of the

[7] Imre Mikó and Károly Szabó (eds.), *Erdélyi Történeti Adatok* [Transylvanian Historical Dates], 4 vols. (Kolozsvár, 1855–1862), here vol. 1, 31. Cf. Dán, *Az erdélyi szombatosok*, 86.

Szekler commoners, who felt they had been duped and who immediately began to arm for a rebellion. Báthori quickly sent troops into the Szekler lands and the revolt was harshly put down. From then on he could no longer count on the support of the disappointed Szeklers, whose hatred for the prince and for the Báthori dynasty in general was profound and lasting.

The autumn of 1596 brought the Holy League a series of defeats in Hungary. The new Sultan, Mehmed III, led the Ottoman armies himself and won victory after victory. After these failures on the battlefield, Báthori abdicated again and went in exile to Silesia. In April of the following year imperial commissioners took over the government in Transylvania and in the Partium. Just a few months later, as the pro-Ottoman party was gaining strength in the country, Báthori returned and found himself politically isolated indeed: The emperor would not recognize him as prince, and the Ottomans were laying siege to the fortresses on the border. In March 1599 Zsigmond Báthori renounced the throne for the third time, and his cousin, cardinal András Báthori,[8] returning home to Transylvania from Poland, became the new prince with the approval of the Sultan. Thus, Transylvania switched once more to the pro-Ottoman camp, this time with a high-ranking Catholic cleric as the head of state.

Mihai Viteazul and Giorgio Basta in Transylvania

The response to this move was not long in coming. Emperor Rudolf was still preparing for an expedition against his former ally, when in October 1599 the Wallachian prince, Mihai Viteazul (Michael the Brave), with backing from the Prague court, advanced on Transylvania. With support from the Szeklers, Mihai defeated András Báthori's forces at Schellenberg (Şelimbăr, near Hermannstadt) on 28 October. Báthori himself was murdered in November as he tried to flee back to Poland through the Szekler territories. That same month Mihai entered the Transylvanian capital Gyulafehérvár as imperial proconsul and the Diet paid homage to him.

The political situation in the country was highly unstable over the next four years, beginning with the roughly ten months of Mihai's rule

[8] Ildikó Horn, *Báthory András* (Budapest, 2002).

(until September 1600). The Szeklers, whose liberties had been once more restored, took bloody revenge on those nobles who had decisively contributed to their defeat in 1596. In addition, Mihai had to increase taxes drastically in order to insure that his army remained operational. He was highly dependent on his armed forces, because Rudolf ceased his support the moment he realized the Wallachian prince did not intend to deliver Transylvania to the Habsburgs. A successful military campaign against Moldavia did little to ease Mihai's financial distress. Toward the end of summer looting by the Wallachian prince's soldiers increased and Transylvanian nobles turned to the imperial general Basta for help. On September 18 Basta's mercenary army, supported by the Transylvanian opposition and by some of the Szeklers, defeated Mihai's troops (on whose side the majority of the Szeklers fought). This battle and the subsequent renewed cancellation of the Szekler liberties was followed by months of unchecked looting in Transylvania by the imperial mercenaries, until the beginning of 1601, when Zsigmond Báthori returned at the request of the Transylvanian estates and with Polish support. An army resulting from the ad hoc strategic alliance between Basta and Mihai put a temporary end to Báthori's rule in August 1601, but after the battle Basta had the Wallachian prince murdered. Báthori returned to Transylvania again in the beginning of 1602, this time with Ottoman support, and this time, too, his rule lasted only a few months. In July 1602 Basta once more took control of the country, but he was finally defeated in the spring of 1603 by Mózes Székely, who had himself elected prince in May. Only two months later, on 17 July 1603, Székely lost the throne and his life in the Battle of Rosenau.

Mihai Viteazul's Policy on Religions in Transylvania and the Orthodox Church

On 20 May 1595 Transylvania under Zsigmond Báthori sealed an anti-Ottoman alliance with Wallachia. The text of the treaty reveals the outlines of Mihai Viteazul's policy on religions in Transylvania. In addition to the desire for a convergence of the Wallachian estates with the Transylvanian estate system, there are clear signs of a trans-border Orthodox solidarity: "And all Romanian churches in the regions of the king shall pass under the jurisdiction and domain of the archbishop of Tîrgoviște, in accordance with church law and the order of Wallachia,

and revenues shall be regulated accordingly."[9] Moreover, the concessive posture of Báthori—the Catholic prince of Transylvania—vis-à-vis his ally in the anti-Ottoman struggle—the Orthodox ruler of Wallachia—can be integrated relatively seamlessly into a broader context: on the one hand, a general rapprochement between Catholicism and the Eastern Church;[10] on the other hand, a common line of action against Transylvanian Calvinism, under whose jurisdiction the Orthodox churches of Transylvania had long functioned, and in some cases continued to function. Only a few days later Zsigmond Báthori's decree of 4 June 1595 granted jurisdiction over the Romanian parishes of the Făgăraș land to the Orthodox metropolitan Ioan de Prislop, thereby removing the region from Calvinist jurisdiction.[11] Already in the early 1570s Zsigmond's predecessor, István Báthori, had started a new phase in Transylvania's policy on religions. Not only did he take aim against Calvinist proselytism, he also raised the status of the Orthodox Church with decrees (from 5 October 1571, 3 August 1572, and 13 February 1573) that bestowed new territorial and functional powers on bishop Eftimie, head of the Orthodox Church in Transylvania.[12] Now, a quarter of a century later, strong indications may be discerned of plans (especially on the Catholic side) for a union of churches in Transylvania on the model of the Union of Brest.

Subsequent to the Gyulafehérvár treaty of 1595 Mihai received permission (in December 1596) to establish an Orthodox monastery (and episcopal seat) near the Transylvanian capital and to have it endowed with prebends. Even this concession by Zsigmond Báthori to his Ortho-

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[9] "Şi toate bisericile românești care sînt în ținuturile craiului vor fi supt jurisdicția și dispusul arhiepiscopiei din Tîrgoviște, potrivit cu dreptul bisericesc și rînduielile acelei țări muntene și-și vor avea veniturile obișnuite." The text of the treaty is printed in *Documente privitóre la istoria românilor culese de Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, Nicolae Iorga, Ion Bogdan* [Documents Concerning the History of the Romanians, Selected by E. de Hurmuzaki, N. Iorga, I. Bogdan], vol. 3/2: 1576–1600 (Bucharest, 1888), 209–213. Nicolae Iorga pointed out early the significance of this clause. See Nicolae Iorga, *Ștefan cel Mare, Mihai Viteazul și Mitropolia Ardealului* [Stephan the Great, Michael the Brave, and the Transylvanian See], ed. by Șerban Papacostea (Bucharest, 1984), 374–375. See also Alzati, *Terra romena tra Oriente e Occidente*, 118.

[10] See for example Oskar Halecki, *From Florence to Brest (1439–1596)* (Rome, 1958), 199–420.

[11] Bunea, *Vechile episcopii românești*, 65.

[12] Cf. Pompiliu Teodor, "Politica ecleziastică a lui Mihai Viteazul în Transilvania [The Church Policy of Michael the Brave in Transylvania]," *Revista istorică* 5–6 (1993), 473–489, here 477f. See also Ștefan Andreescu, "Some Reflections on Michael the Brave's Denominational Policy," in Maria Crăciun and Ovidiu Ghitta (eds.), *Ethnicity and Religion in Central and Eastern Europe* (Cluj-Napoca, 1995), 150–156.

Mihai Viteazul (Contemporary engraving. Courtesy of the Siebenbürgen-Institut Gundelsheim)

dox ally can hardly be adequately explained by the anti-Ottoman coalition alone. It is much rather the case that here, too, a decisive role is played by longer-range considerations on the part of Catholic ecclesiastic strategists regarding the Counter-Reformation and policies toward the Orthodox Church. A further sign of the comprehensive institutionalization of the Orthodox Church hierarchy in Transylvania and Hungary must be seen in the naming of Serghie, who was hegumen of Tismana and a collaborator of Mihai, as the bishop of Munkács.[13]

A second stage in Mihai Viteazul's religious policy began when he assumed power in Transylvania. Mihai presented the Transylvanian Diet with a number of proposals concerning, among other things, the status of Orthodox priests. On 26–27 July 1600 the Diet decreed as follows: "Concerning Your Majesty's second wish, that Romanian priests may no longer be compelled to statute-labor, in this, too, we shall comply

[13] See Ovidiu Ghitta, "Un colaborator al lui Mihai Viteazul. Episcopul Serghie [A Collaborator of Michael the Brave. The Bishop Serghie]," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj-Napoca* 27 (1985–1986), 375–382.

with Your Highness's wish and have decided that Romanian priests shall everywhere be spared this labor."[14] During this phase the Wallachian ruler's denominational policy for Transylvania continued to fit well with the policy of Counter-Reformation that the Báthoris had already pursued and that was being directed from Vienna/Prague and Rome. In addition to abolishing all Calvinist influence on the concerns of the Orthodox Church,[15] a number of other measures are known to have been taken against Calvinists and Antitrinitarians, including the banishment of Reformed village preachers and their replacement by Jesuits, and the closing of Unitarian churches. Letters sent by Rudolf II and Pope Clemens VIII to Mihai in 1600 cast a revealing light on the religious policy pursued by the latter: They concern the emperor's proposals regarding the reorganization of Transylvania's system of *religiones receptae* and Clemens's hope for an imminent ecclesiastical union.[16] Resistance in Transylvania was however considerable in those days: The Protestant-dominated Diet would make concessions only under great pressure, and even the Catholic church hierarchs then present in the country (bishop Náprágyi and the papal nuntius Malaspina) observed Mihai's actions with utmost suspicion and distrusted his avowed purpose of union, which they thought was a pretense.[17]

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[14] Ilie Crăciun, *Dietele Transilvaniei ținute sub domnia lui Mihai Viteazul (1599–1600)* [The Diets in Transylvania in the Time of Michael the Brave's Rule] (Bucharest, 1939), 21.

[15] For example through a decree that made remarriage a punishable offense for Orthodox clergy after it had been allowed under Calvinist leadership of the Church. In: ibid.

[16] "Eu, împăratul, rog pe domnia ta, să nu lași într-acel loc mulți credincioși, numai să lași trei: greci și frînci și lotreni, numai să gonești calvinii și arianii și să le iai beserica, să o dai unde vei vrea Domnia Ta. [I, the Emperor, request of Your Highness, not to allow so many faiths in that region, rather only three: Greeks [Orthodox], Franks [Catholics] and Lutherans, and to banish the Calvinists and Arians and to take from them their churches, which you may then give to whom you please.]" The Lutherans were excluded from Rudolf's anti-Protestant policies for political reasons. In: Nicolae Iorga, *Documente nouă în mare parte românești relative la Petru Șchiopul și Mihai Viteazul* [New, Largely Romanian Documents Concerning Petru the Lame and Michael the Brave] (Bucharest, 1899), 21–66, here 24. Quoted by Teodor, "Politica ecleziastică," 485. Cf. ibid. for the complete text of the pope's letter.

[17] Malaspina wrote to the cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini in Rome on 14 November 1599: "The Paladin [Mihai] shows much good will toward the Catholic religion and disgust toward the heretics, and has recently suggested measures to be taken against the latter. However, after consultations with the bishop [Demeter Náprágyi, *episcopus electus*] and the Jesuit fathers we were of the opinion that the Paladin had sought our opinion in this matter not out of religious zeal but in order to destroy the nobility. Therefore we answered him that he should confer with the emperor about this. And the Paladin is an uneducated man, so that he can hardly write his name, and

The lasting elements of Mihai's religious policy from his brief, two-part rule in Transylvania (November 1599–September 1600; summer 1601) are easily named: the organization and consolidation of an Orthodox metropolitan in Gyulafehérvár, and the socio-political initiatives benefiting the Orthodox clergy. These would contribute essentially to the supporting framework for the rights that would be listed for them in the charters of the coming decades.[18]

The Religious Policy of Giorgio Basta and the Habsburg Royal Commissioners

After the final abdication of Zsigmond Báthori in June 1602,[19] numerous corporations (seats and towns) as well as individuals addressed statements and requests to Basta (as the highest ranking officer of the Holy Crown in Transylvania), who then forwarded his recommendations and assessments to Rudolf II for final decision. After a session of the Transylvanian Diet, which Basta had called for the end of August in Mediasch, the general also forwarded, along with the Diet's decrees, a number of recommendations to the emperor, including some that concerned the handling of a delegation sent to Prague by the three *nationes* and others that concerned religious affairs in Transylvania. Basta's recommendations pointed toward a comprehensive establishment of Catholicism in Transylvania.[20] He saw a promising starting

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he knows no languages other than Romanian and Turkish, but he is very sly and deceitful, bothers little about the law, is inconstant and by nature cruel, and given to debauchery. He disdains advice, is quick-tempered (as we hear from the metropolitan of Trnovo), not god-fearing." The Italian text can be found in Endre Veress, *Relationes nuntiorum apostolicorum in Transilvaniam missorum a Clemente VIII (1592–1600)* (Budapest, 1909), 358–366. For a Romanian translation see Holban, *Călători străini*, vol. 4, 157–168, here 165.

[18] Cf. Teodor, "Politica ecleziastică," 488.

[19] The Habsburgs wanted Báthori out of the country as quickly as possible so that he would not have an opportunity to take power again (for the fifth time). Accompanied by an escort from Basta the abdicated prince traveled by way of Hermannstadt and Kassa to his Bohemian exile. And, indeed, along the way three Transylvanian Reformed nobles offered him their support against the imperial forces. Cf. to this paragraph Arens, *Habsburg und Siebenbürgen*, 91f.

[20] On 1 September 1602 Basta sent two almost identical letters: one to emperor Rudolf II (printed in Szilágyi, *Monumenta Comitialia*, vol. 5, Nr. 29, 145–150, the other to archduke Matthias. In: Endre Veress (ed.), *Basta György hadvezér levelezése és iratai* [The Correspondence and the Writings of the Army Leader Giorgio Basta], vol. 2: 1602–1607 (Budapest, 1913), no. 1079, 71–77.

point for recatholicization in the settlements of the Königsboden, above all in Hermannstadt and its seat. He pleaded for a slow and cautious approach: The insertion of Catholics into positions of secular leadership in the Saxon towns could be followed by denominational restrictions for certain offices and the increase of Catholic influence in these towns. This would be expanded in a subsequent stage to an overall Catholic dominance in the Principality. The overt goal was to push back against the Calvinists and Unitarians and to weaken them over the long term.[21] In accord with these recommendations were the instructions[22] received by the royal commissioners when Rudolf II sent them to Transylvania in early September 1602. The reorganization of religious affairs, that is, the establishment of Catholicism at the expense of other religious groups, was one of the commissioners' most important tasks. (A special role in this was reserved for the Jesuits.) At the same time, the emperor enjoined the commissioners to a cautious approach in order not to provoke unrest.

Based on their experiences and observations in Transylvania, the imperial commissioners Johann von Molart and Nikolaus Burghausen, together with Giorgio Basta, wrote a detailed report for Rudolf II in February 1603. The report would exercise a strong influence on Habsburg policy toward the Principality in the coming years.[23] In it the officials recommended the complete restoration of the Gyulafehérvár see, including the reclamation of the former property of the Transylvanian diocese. They saw this as a necessary step in order to win the population back to Catholicism. The condition of the few Catholic clergy who remained in the country was painted in the most dismal colors.

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[21] Cf. Arens, *Habsburg und Siebenbürgen*, 97–102. The fact that the numerous sources generated during this time on the Habsburg side have little of substance to say about dealings with the Orthodox Church can be attributed to the lack of a hierarchically structured partner (in both dialogue and conflict) that would have been organizationally on a par with the Catholic Church.

[22] In: Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, vol. 4/1, no. 258, 313–317, here 314.

[23] Endre Veress, *Basta György hadvezér 1603-iki és főjelentése Erdély kanczelláriájának* [General Giorgio Basta's Report of 1603 and at the Same Time His Main Report to the Transylvanian Court Chancellery] (Budapest, 1914). Most of the report concerns administrative, political and military questions. Cf. to this section Arens, *Habsburg und Siebenbürgen*, 119f. The imperial commissioners advise the ruler, in the face of the estates' refusal to cooperate, "in the future to deal with them more through proclamations and patents rather than subject himself to their decrees." In: "Relation der kais. Kommissäre Basta, Molart und Burghauss an Kaiser Rudolph II.," *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, o. s., 4 (1850), 86–128, here 88f.

GEORGIVS BASTA DNS. IN SVLT. EQVES AVRAT. SAC. CÆS. MAT.is AC CATHOLICI REGIS HISPANIÆ CONSIL. BELLICVS NEC NON PARTIVM REGNI HVNG. SVPERIORIS GENERAL. PROCAPITAN.

General Giorgio Basta (Contemporary engraving. Courtesy of the Siebenbürgen-Institut Gundelsheim)

As the new bishop they suggested the titular bishop of Csanád, Faustus Verantius, or a German Catholic bishop from abroad.

The Habsburgs assessed disproportionately high duties to maintain imperial troops in the country. This was one reason for the lack of political cooperation that they encountered. Another stemmed from concerns about religious freedom on the part of the estates, who worried about the prospect of a forced recatholicization. One of the orders given by the Diet to a delegation of the *nationes* that was sent to Rudolf II on 28 February 1603 addressed religious affairs in Transylvania. The delegates were to invoke contracts that had been negotiated with the emperor's commissioners in 1598 after the second abdication of Zsigmond Báthori, and they were to demand renewed confirmation of the religious freedoms that were promised therein. Before the delegates (two from each estate) were admitted for an audience at the court in Prague, Mózes Székely attacked the imperial forces in Transylvania in the spring of 1603.

A Unitarian Prince on the Transylvanian Throne

After Zsigmond Báthori's last army was defeated by general Basta at Tövis on 2 July 1602, the army's commander, Mózes Székely, led his remaining men through neighboring Ottoman territory (eyalet Temesvár) and into Wallachia. In April 1603 he returned at the head of a very heterogeneous force (comprised of Crimean Tartars, Turks, Hungarian Hajduks, Poles, Cossacks, and Moldavians) and attacked the rather poorly defended imperial fortresses and settlements along the Maros Valley (Lugos, Caransebeș, Broos, Mühlbach, Gyulafehérvár, Enyed, Torda). In the middle of May he had himself crowned prince in Gyulafehérvár by a majority of the estates and with Ottoman approval. His rule lasted only two months, however, and was characterized by continuing armed clashes with pro-Habsburg troops, ending on 17 July 1603 with the Battle of Rosenau against the army of the Wallachian prince Radu Șerban, who was supported by many Szekler troops. Székely died in the battle.

Mózes Székely was an Antitrinitarian, and this—in addition to political considerations—may have been one of the reasons for his resolute campaign against the Habsburgs, whose religious policy had threatened the existence of Unitarianism. The tensions, including interdenominational ones, that were discharged by his short-lived coup are shown by the events in Kolozsvár in the summer of 1603:[24] After the capitulation of the (small) imperial garrison on 8 June and the seizure of the town by Székely, an angry crowd forced its way into the seat and the church of the Jesuit order. It is not known whether the Protestant clergy of the predominantly Antitrinitarian town had fomented the action. From the internal report of the Jesuit father Giovanni Argenti to the order leadership (16 August 1603),[25] it is at least clear that the local Jesuit leadership had behaved ineptly in the run-up to the capture of the town: In view of the shortage of food due to the siege, the town judge had asked the

[24] No monograph has as yet been devoted to Mózes Székely. For more on Székely's anti-Habsburg actions see the chapter "Die antihabsburgische Aufstandsbewegung unter Moses Székely (Juni/Juli 1602 bis April bzw. Juli 1603)," in Arens, *Habsburg und Siebenbürgen*, 139–172; on the events in Kolozsvár in 1603 see Wolfgang de Bethlen, *Historia de Rebus Transilvanicis*, vol. 5: 1601–1604 (Cibinii, 1789), 275–289; one of the more recent summaries of the events can be found in Jakó, *Az első kolozsvári egyetemi könyvtár története*, 24–29, on whose description I have relied here.

[25] Endre Veress, *Giovanni Argenti jelentései magyar ügyekről, 1603–1623* [Giovanni Argenti's Reports Concerning Hungarian Affairs, 1603–1623] (Szeged, 1983), 107–114.

Jesuits for grain for the townspeople. The Jesuits refused the request despite apparently ample stores and thus ignited the already smoldering hatred of the citizenry, who viewed the order as the primary instrument of the Habsburgs' Counter-Reformation power interests. The chronicler Szamosközy describes the destruction on 9 June 1603:

> After the crowd had looted the order's building and carted everything off, their wrath turned against the bare walls. With chisels, hammers, bars, and all kinds of implements suited to the breaking of walls they fell upon the building and tore, yanked, beat, and smashed it. Indeed, they went so far that, after tearing down […] the walls, they made the remaining ruin uninhabitable." The church building, "whose curved roof had been highly arched, they robbed of every roofing tile, beam, supporting column, the entire truss and left nothing but the bare, thick walls. The pictures of holy men and women they smashed with axes and hoes, and did not even spare the graves of the dead.[26]

Compared to other reports, the attestations of Catholic historiographers appear to have somewhat overstated the certainly heavy damage. Official reports differ from the Catholic accounts, especially regarding the destruction of the library's holdings and of the gold and silver objects in the church, as well as the plundering of the money and jewelry stored in the abbey. An inventory of the objects in the abbey was prepared on 12 June by municipal and princely representatives,[27] and after 10 June the prince had the grounds guarded. At any rate, the actions of 9 June damaged the abbey complex to such an extent that it could no longer be used. In the following years the remains of the abbey's walls served the townspeople and leaders of Kolozsvár as a stone quarry for the repair and improvement of guard towers and town walls. Entries in the municipal accounts attest to this use as late as 1614.[28]

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[26] István Szamosközy, *Erdély története* [History of Transylvania] (Budapest, 1963), 275.

[27] See Veress, *Giovanni Argenti jelentései*, 162–172.

[28] Ibid., 178, 183–185, 187, 195. Cf. Jakó, *Az első kolozsvári egyetemi könyvtár*, 26. Seven Jesuit monks left Kolozsvár for Poland in the following days (June-July 1603). Their road led them through Szekler lands, where a fresh epidemic of the plague was raging. On the basis of descriptions by their leader, Argenti, the anonymous author of this report writes to the order's leaders: "And in the land of the Szeklers, in the village where they rested for three days, many people died every day from the plague. The inhabitants, however, but also the others […], not only do they not flee the contagion, but they rather consider it a crime when someone avoids the sick out of fear or refuses the company of people who have fallen prey to this sickness. For they say that the plague is a punishment from God, and that he who flees from it appears to flee from God, like Jona in the Bible." The Latin text has been published in Endre Veress,

In addition to prince Mózes Székely, among the numerous dead at the Battle of Rosenau were many members of the Transylvanian nobility, particularly Unitarians and Catholics.[29] The latter included Catholic nobles from the former entourage of Zsigmond Báthori who had subsequently sided with Székely, but also those who had converted to Catholicism as a result of Báthori's political purges. Many of the casualties were very young and without progeny, which—especially when several family members were struck down at once—led to the extinction of numerous families. While the Unitarian and the Catholic nobility were equally affected, the long-term consequences were especially devastating for the Unitarian Church, which was never able to overcome the loss of its noble contingent. But the Catholic nobility was weakened also, as orphaned children were often raised by Reformed relatives.

The Rosenau citadel (Engraving by J. Umbach, after a drawing by L. Rohbock. Courtesy of the Siebenbürgisches Museum Gundelsheim)

Annuae Litterae Societatis Iesu de rebus transylvanicis de temporibus principum Báthory 1579–1613 (Veszprém, 1921), 89. A Romanian translation can be found in Holban, *Călători străini*, vol. 4, 258–263, here 259.

[29] One report identifies 144 of the slain nobles by name. See Horn, "Der ungarische Adel," 17.

Aftermath

A new period of Habsburg domination began with the defeat of Székely. It would last a year and a half (July 1603 to December 1604) and would mark a fundamental change in the way Rudolf II treated the Transylvanian estates. Already on the day of the Battle of Rosenau Rudolf issued an emphatic order for the collective punishment of the people of Kolozsvár and of other towns (Kronstadt, Schässburg), and he repeated the order in a detailed letter to Basta (20 August 1603). Thus he revealed the baselines of his future policy on Transylvania:[30] a merciless crackdown on the nobility and citizens of the country, and seizure of the properties possessed by Székely's followers. Those seats and districts, however, that for various reasons had been on the Habsburg side during the previous years (Hermannstadt, Csík), would receive privileged treatment. On the denominational level, too, the ramifications of Székely's movement soon became apparent. Just a few weeks after the destruction of the Jesuit abbey the imperial troops were in charge again in Kolozsvár as well. On 13 September 1603 Basta compensated the Jesuit monks with the main church in the center of town, until then in Unitarian possession, including the church's parochial and school buildings.[31] Also, the town judge of Kolozsvár was executed.[32]

The royal instruction concerning Transylvania from the beginning of 1604, in addition to dealing with numerous other far-reaching administrative, political, juridical, financial, and military measures, also gave privileged place to the religious affairs of the country. The order stressed once again the need to reestablish the Catholic see (with seat at Gyulafehérvár) and to restore to the Catholic Church all previous properties and buildings or to pay damages for them. Demeter Náprágyi (reconfirmed by the Curia in 1603)[33] was to assume his office as Transylvanian bishop. The instruction also emphasized the preferential status of the

[30] See Veress, *Basta György hadvezér,* 255 and 275–280.

[31] Ibid., 292; Arnold Oskar Meyer, *Die Prager Nuntiatur des Giovanni Stefano Ferreri und die Wiener Nuntiatur des Giacomo Sierra 1603–1606* (Berlin, 1913), 64. On this fifth period of Habsburg domination in Transylvania during the "Long Turkish War" (July 1603–December 1604), cf. Arens, *Habsburg und Siebenbürgen*, 173–224. At almost the same time as in Kolozsvár, the cathedral in the Upper-Hungarian town of Kassa was recatholicized.

[32] A number of other office holders lost their lives or were imprisoned after the Diet of Déva in September 1603. The town judge of Broos and two members of his council were executed. To escape the death penalty, Lukas Trausner, office holder in Kronstadt, had to renounce Unitarianism and was jailed for seven months. See ibid., 184.

[33] Szilágyi, *Monumenta Comitialia*, vol. 5, 247.

Catholic denomination, its promotion by those holding power and the unhindered spread of Catholic orders across the country. In addition to the restoration of possessions lost by the Jesuits, further Jesuit centers were to be established,[34] and the Franciscan order (with its abbey in the Szekler seat, Csík) should expand as well. The overall intention was to (re)catholicize the entire Transylvanian population.[35]

Under Prince Bocskai

The anti-Protestant policy of the Habsburgs, coupled with the general dissatisfaction of the estates and some ill-considered actions by imperial officials and military leaders in Transylvania and the Partium, led finally to the resumption of armed resistance. At the head of the movement that burgeoned in the autumn of 1604 stood István Bocskai,[36] an *eminence grise* of Transylvanian politics, who had for some time kept himself out of daily political events, until his contacts with anti-Habsburg Transylvanian nobles in Turkish exile placed him in the crosshairs of the imperial commander in Upper Hungary. Bocskai took up arms against the overly zealous imperial general Giacomo Barbiano, who wanted to arrest him for treason, and soon had many fighters behind him in the Hajduks,[37] the erstwhile hirelings of the Habsburgs, with whose help he wore down the general's troops. On 11 November the town of Kassa, which had denied entry to the retreating Barbiano, welcomed Bocskai and his Hajduks as liberators. It was the second town to do so (after Debrecen).

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[34] Bishop Náprágyi had presented such a recommendation to the emperor already in December 1602. See ibid., 165.

[35] Cf. Arens, *Habsburg und Siebenbürgen*, 196–197.

[36] On Bocskai and the rebellion see László Nagy, *Bocskai István a hadak élén* [István Bocskai at the Head of the Armies] (Budapest, 1981); László Nagy, *A Bocskai szabadságharc katonai története* [The Military History of Bocskai's Struggle for Freedom] (Budapest, 1961); Kálmán Benda, *Bocskai István* (Budapest, 1942); new edition: Budapest, 1993; Zoltán Angyal, *Rudolfs II. ungarische Regierung. Ursachen, Verlauf des Aufstandes Bocskay* (Budapest, 1916); Géza Lencz, *Der Aufstand Bocskays und der Wiener Friede. Eine kirchenhistorische Studie* (Debreczen, 1917).

[37] For more on the Hajduks see Fikret Adanir, "Heiduckentum und Osmanische Herrschaft. Sozialgeschichtliche Aspekte der Diskussion um das frühneuzeitliche Räuberwesen in Südosteuropa," *Südost-Forschungen* 41 (1982), 43–116.

István Bocskai (Contemporary engraving. Courtesy of the Siebenbürgisches Museum Gundelsheim)

The predominantly Reformed followers of the Calvinist Bocskai praised him as *defensor religionis*.[38] At the Diet of the Upper-Hungarian estates at Kassa (November 1604) Bocskai showed that, indeed, he saw himself as a defender of religious freedom and a fighter for corporative *libertas*.[39] He said that he was fighting for the "preservation of our life and that of the entire Hungarian people, and for its religion, its freedom and

[38] On the multiple (including religious) reasons why the Hajduks supported Bocskai, see László Makkai, "István Bocskai's Insurrectionary Army," in János Bak and Béla K. Király (eds.), *From Hunyadi to Rákóczi. War and Society in Late Medieval and Early Modern Hungary* (New York, 1982), 275–296, here 293: "The chronicler claimed: 'God has awakened and called upon the *hajdúk*.' It was in this common calling, rather than in any ideology of equality and national fraternity, that Bocskai felt himself at one with his faithful soldiers."

[39] A divergent view has been presented by Ferenc Eckhart, "Bocskay és híveinek közjogi felfogása [The Legal Understanding of Bocskay and his Followers]," in *Emlékkönyv Károlyi Árpád születése nyolcvanadik fordulójának ünnepére* [Commemorative Book in Celebration of Árpád Károlyi's 80th Birthday] (Budapest, 1933), 133–141.

its possessions."[40] The Diet approved a tax to fund the continuation of the struggle against the Habsburgs. Bocskai's correspondence as well shows that he was eager to justify the rebellion in religious terms.[41] With Ottoman support he had himself elected prince of Transylvania by an incomplete Diet (without the participation of the Saxon Nationsuniversität) on 21 February 1605 at Nyárádszereda and prince of Hungary on 20 April by the Diet at Szerencs. Here he portrayed the sufferings of the Hungarian estates in a fiery speech and deplored above all the degradation of the freedom of religious practice. Although the rebellious Hungarian nobles stood solidly behind him, enthusiasm for Bocskai in Transylvania was anything but unmixed. Not until 1605 was he able to overcome the resistance of the Transylvanian-Saxon towns (especially Mediasch and Schässburg). Finally, on 14 September, the three estates at the Diet of Mediasch unanimously confirmed Bocskai's election and thus took a great step in the direction of restoring the principality's status as a state.

Bocskai acted judiciously in foreign affairs. When in November 1605 the grand vizier Lala Mehmed arrived bearing a crown on behalf

[40] "Magunk és az egész magyar nemzetségnek, életének és az mellett religiójának, szabadságának és javainak megtartása végett." In: Kálmán Benda, *A Bocskai szabadságharc* [The Bocskai Freedom Struggle] (Budapest, 1955), 88. See also Kálmán Révész, "Bocskay István apológiája [István Bocskai's *Apology*]," *Protestáns Szemle* 18 (1906), 304–312. On the question of the legitimization of corporatist resistance in general see Ellinor von Puttkamer, "Grundlinien des Widerstandsrechts in der Verfassungsgeschichte Osteuropas," in Konrad Repgen and Stephan Skalweit (eds.), *Spiegel der Geschichte. Festgabe für Max Braubach zum 10. April 1964* (Münster, 1964), 198–219; on the legitimization of Bocskai's resistance see Kálmán Benda, "Le calvinisme et le droit de résistance des ordres hongrois au commencement du XVIIe siècle," in *Études européennes. Mélanges offerts à Victor-Lucien Tapié* (Paris, 1973), 235–243; Kálmán Benda, "A Kálvini tanok hatása a magyar rendi ellenállás ideológiájára [The Influence of Calvinist Teachings on the Ideology of the Hungarian Corporatist Resistance]," *Helikon* 17, 1971, 322–330; László Makkai, "État des Ordres et théocratie calviniste au XVIe siècle dans l'Europe Centro-Orientale," *Études historiques hongroises* 1, 1975, 329–346. Cf. Joachim Bahlcke, "Calvinism and Estate Liberation Movements in Bohemia and Hungary (1570–1620)," in Karin Maag (ed.), *The Reformation in Eastern and Central Europe* (Aldershot, 1997), 73–91, here 89.

[41] Anti-Habsburg freedom fighters across Europe argued in the same manner, that is, with the Calvinist teaching of justification, as for example William of Orange or Georg Erasmus von Tschernembl. See letters no. 7, 16 und 20 and the commentary in: András Molnár, *Fürst Stefan Bocskay als Staatsmann und Persönlichkeit im Spiegel seiner Briefe* (Munich, 1983), 76–78, 102–108, 115–118. On William of Orange see ibid., 194–209, on Erasmus von Tschernembl see Hans Sturmberger, *Georg Erasmus von Tschernembl. Religion, Libertät und Widerstand. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Gegenreformation und des Landes ob der Enns* (Graz, 1953). Cf. Arens, *Habsburg und Siebenbürgen*, 227.

The Marosvécs castle (13th–16th ct.), owned around 1600 by István Bocskai (Detail of an engraving by F. Hablitschek, after a drawing by L. Rohbock. Courtesy of the Siebenbürgisches Museum Gundelsheim)

of the Sultan and addressing Bocskai as "Your Royal Highness," the latter refused this title and pointed out that Hungary already had a crowned head of state in the person of the Habsburg emperor Rudolf. Since the summer of that year Bocskai had been trying to negotiate (through the intermediary archduke Matthias) a peace treaty with Rudolf. The dangerous buffer position that Transylvania and Eastern Hungary occupied between the two warring empires was as clear to the aged Hungarian negotiator Illésházy as was the indissoluble religious enmity with the Ottomans:

> Is it not obvious that we stand between the realms of two great emperors? The Turk is the natural enemy of our religion and of us. And it is he who helps us now, with words and deeds, but he will collect his wages for it. Even for the support given last year he claimed his reward: Esztergom is gone, many thousands of Christian dead, and enslaved, innocent Christians. […] And if we remain enemies with the Roman Emperor, he will pursue us year in and year out, and we cannot hold out forever.[42]

[42] From a letter from Illésházy to Bocskai, quoted by Teréz Oborni, *Erdély fejedelmei* [The Princes of Transylvania] (Budapest, 2002), 71.

In the negotiations with Vienna Bocskai demanded freedom of religious practice for the Protestants, the appointment of native Transylvanians to leading offices, and recognition of the Principality of Transylvania. These demands long went unheeded, until the Peace of Vienna (23 June 1606), in which the Habsburgs recognized the Principality of Transylvania under Ottoman suzerainty. Confirmation of Transylvania's territory had to wait until 11 November in Zsitvatorok. Matthias, the successor to Rudolf II, was crowned king of Hungary two years later at the Diet at Pozsony (Pressburg, Bratislava), but not before he had to sanction the articles of a statute on religious practice (freedom of religion for the estates).[43]

One of the consequences of Transylvania's participation in the Fifteen Years' War (1593–1606) was the weakening of the Unitarian and Catholic nobility. Overall, the Calvinist Church emerged from this period strengthened, especially since under the Calvinist Bocskai a number of Catholic nobles saw themselves forced to emigrate. The positions of the Reformed Church and the nobles among its adherents would continue to grow stronger in the 17th century, under the rule of Calvinist princes.

Between Calvinists and Catholics: Zsigmond Rákóczi and Gábor Báthori of Somlyó

Preliminary Remarks

Only slowly did the country recover from the effects of the Fifteen Years' War. In addition to the destruction caused by the battles there were bad harvests due to weather and a disastrous epidemic of plague in 1601–1602. According to some estimates the population of the Principality was reduced by half in these years.[44] The seven years after the death of Bocskai (1606) were characterized at first by power struggles for the princely throne, later, under Gábor Báthori, by competition for the favor of the erratic prince, whose lavish lifestyle and authoritarian attitude (especially vis-à-vis the *natio Saxonica*) brought

[43] Fata, *Ungarn, das Reich der Stephanskrone*, 136.

[44] Köpeczi, *Erdély története*, vol. 2, 728f. See this work also for more on the economic and demographic developments in the following years.

the country to the brink of civil war. In foreign policy Báthori tended to align Transylvania more closely with the Habsburgian Kingdom of Hungary, thus provoking time and again the threat of Ottoman intervention. This extremely volatile period for the Principality would be followed by a period of consolidation lasting almost 50 years (until approximately 1660).

Zsigmond Rákóczi

After Bocskai's death in Kassa on 29 December 1606, just a few weeks after the Peace of Zsitvatorok, a prince acceded to the throne in Zsigmond Rákóczi who, despite the brevity of his rule, was able to anchor the idea of state sovereignty more firmly in Transylvania through his balanced domestic and foreign policies.[45] Rákóczi had not been the most promising candidate for the throne, but neither of his two chief rivals, Bálint Homonnai—whom Bocskai had named as his successor—nor the Catholic-born, Calvinist-bred Gábor Báthori acted quickly enough to seize the opportunity that presented itself in early 1607. As it turned out, Rákóczi's election as prince clearly exemplified the broad room to maneuver that the principality enjoyed in its situation between the two great powers: The estates made use of the right to *libera electio* of their ruler, and on 12 February 1607 they passed over the Sublime Porte's favorite, Homonnai, in favor of the acting governor (since the Diet of Mediasch in September 1605), Zsigmond Rákóczi (of Felsővadász). Rákóczi immediately notified Rudolf II of his election and arranged for his own name to replace that of Homonnai on the official nominating document, which the Ottomans had already issued.

The estates continued to exert their political influence in the coming months. At the Diet in 1607 they adopted a number of laws that shored up the property rights of the nobles against the fiscal interests of the prince, they trimmed the rights of the towns, and improved the situation of the nobility in general. They gave potent expression to their anti-Catholic position by issuing a renewed ban on the Jesuit

[45] For more on the following see Köpeczi, *Erdély története*, vol. 2, 620; Oborni, *Erdély fejedelmei*, 77–85. On Rákóczi see Zsolt Trócsányi, *Rákóczi Zsigmond. Egy dinasztia születése* [Zsigmond Rákóczi: The Birth of a Dynasty] (Debrecen, 1979); Zoltán Hangay, *Erdély választott fejedelme. Rákóczi Zsigmond* [The Elected Prince of Transylvania: Zsigmond Rákóczi] (Budapest, 1987).

order in Transylvania. This last move had the result that Rákóczi's most important rival, Gábor Báthori, was able to play the Catholic trump card. One of Báthori's most influential supporters at the imperial court was the archbishop of Esztergom, Ferenc Forgách, who hoped that Báthori's accession to the throne would reinforce Catholicism in Transylvania. Báthori assured archduke Matthias that, should he become prince, he would protect the Catholics in Transylvania. He also promised to (re)convert to Catholicism.[46]

Báthori's power-political instrumentalization of the denominational factor becomes clearer in the course of his alliance with the Hajduks. They were the only formidable troops in the Principality, and they were upset at not receiving what was promised them in 1606 by the Treaty of Vienna. Eventually they helped Báthori to the throne. On 5 February 1608 the pretender met with the Hajduk leaders András Nagy and János Elek to sign a contract of alliance. In it Nagy cited as the central point of discontent the interference by the Habsburg-Hungarian royal court in Prague with the practice of the Reformed religion.[47] For Nagy this amounted to a violation of the corresponding articles in the Treaty of Vienna. The essential points of the document of alliance were the commitment by the Hajduks to support Báthori in return for the latter's promise, as prince, to promote Calvinism in Transylvania and to bar Unitarian and Catholic nobles from the princely court.[48] The document also contained a series of articles pertaining to individuals, in which properties were promised to the Hajduk captains (Nagy and Elek) and the main clergyman (Máté Foktűi). It also pledged a territory (between Nagyvárad, Ecsed, and Kálló) in which the Hajduks would be allowed to settle and to practice their (Reformed) religion. With the might of the Hajduks behind him (approximately 14–15,000 men), Báthori persuaded Rákoczi to abdicate. On 7 March 1608 Báthori became the new prince of Transylvania.

Gábor Báthori

The year 1608 saw extensive negotiating over Translyvania's position with relation to the Kingdom of Hungary. Initially, Báthori was able

[46] Köpeczi, *Erdély története*, vol. 2, 621.
[47] After Bocskai's death the areas that he had originally promised to the Hajduks for their settlement had come into the possession of the Hungarian crown.
[48] Ibid., 624; Oborni, *Erdély fejedelmei*, 88.

to negotiate a relatively privileged status (in August 1608 at Kassa). He viewed Transylvania and the Partium as parts of the Hungarian crown but also insisted on a high degree of autonomy in both the internal and foreign affairs of the Principality. The agreement was not ratified, however, and an influential faction of predominantly Catholic nobles in Báthori's entourage pleaded for stronger ties with (and subordination to) Habsburg.

Báthori operated tactically, bestowing properties and titles in order to promote competition among families for his favor and their political advantage. In this way he made many enemies, especially since his dissolute and extravagant mode of living also infuriated the citizens in the towns, who were already impoverished by the long war. In Kronstadt, Hermannstadt, and Kolozsvár defamatory verses circulated about the prince, portraying him as a layabout and debaucher.[49] More favorable to him were the Orthodox clergy, to whom and upon whose request he granted a first charter in 1609.[50] The text of the charter contains parts of the petition: The prince takes pity on the misfortune and the misery (*calamitatem et miseriarum*) of the Romanian priests in Transylvania and the Partium, who must suffer especially at the hands of the landowners; the priests are daily oppressed by the latter in the worst way (*in dies graventur, et miserrime premuntur*), wrongfully and unlike the clergy of the other churches. They are bound to the land and must perform for the landlord all of the customary duties expected of serfs. Now the prince wants to change these "egregious disadvantages" by allowing the Orthodox clergy to move about freely as they execute their office, and they should be allowed to seek out their parishes against the will of their landlords and, with the permission of their superintendent or bishop (*prescitu Superintendentis sive Vladicae ipsorum*), to settle there with their wives and children. Furthermore they are freed of any and all levies and services to their landlords (*ab omnibus plebeis, et servitiis civilibus quibuslibet Domino Terrestri debitis, et praestare solitis*).[51]

In the night of 20–21 March 1610, a group of influential conspirators made a failed attempt to assassinate Gábor Báthori in Szék near

[49] On Gábor Báthori see Dávid Angyal, "Báthory Gábor uralkodása [The Rule of Gábor Báthory]," *Századok* 30 (1896), 23–46; Sándor Szilágyi, *Báthori Gábor fejedelem története* [The History of Prince Gábor Báthori] (Pest, 1867). Cf. also Oborni, *Erdély fejedelmei*, 86–94.

[50] Prodan, *Iobăgia în Transilvania în secolul al XVII–lea*, vol. 1, 195f.

[51] Timotei Cipariu, *Arhivu pentru filologie și istorie* [Archive for Philology and History] (Blaj, 1867), 550–551.

Szamosújvár.[52] The consequences of this action were grave and lasted for years. For contemporary observers, three motives seemed plausible for such a conspiracy: the ambitions of one of the conspirators (István Kendy) to win the throne for himself, coupled with political conflicts within the princely council; the issue of religion—Catholics against Protestants; avenging husbands whose wives were said to have attracted the attention of the prince.[53] After rigorous research, historians have rejected the third explanation as unfounded, although it was the most popular soon after the event. Báthori's love life appears to have been very active indeed, but the account of the conspiracy as the action of a group of offended husbands first appeared in 1614 (under the influence of Báthori's successor Gábor Bethlen, who by then was hardly well disposed toward him) and found its way immediately into the chronicles. Conspirators and loyalists, on the other hand, all attested unanimously to the overriding significance of religious differences for the attempted murder. In the request for extradition sent to György Thurzó, the paladin of Hungary (where the conspirators had fled), Báthori referred to the common Protestant roots that united himself (who was raised Calvinist) and Thurzó (who was Lutheran), and pointed out the religious-political threat posed by the fugitives:

> They wanted not only to end our life but also to spark dangerous agitation in Transylvania and in Hungary, and to persecute our religion. Boldizsár Kornis even publicly threatened the entire country with this at our assembly last year. Have them arrested so that they cannot escape and continue to pursue their evil ends, not only against our person but also against our religion. For we know that they are out there even now, being abetted by Papists with malicious counsel.[54]

The fleeing noblemen, for their part, stressed in their letters that they had born much suffering because of their Catholic faith. Zsigmond Kornis, for example, said in connection with the recently started negotiations between the Principality and the royal court in Pozsony

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[52] The paragraph is based on: Ildikó Horn, "Őnagysága merénylői (Gondolatok egy politikai összeesküvésről) [His Majesty's Assassins (Thoughts on a Political Conspiracy)]," in Violeta Barbu and Kinga S. Tüdős (eds.), *Historia manet* (Bucharest, 2002), 237–255.

[53] Farkas Deák, *A széki merénylet 1610–ben. Új adatok nyomán* [The Attempted Assassination in Szék in the Year 1610: On the Basis of New Information] (Szeged, 1876), 471–472.

[54] From Gábor Báthori's letter to György Thurzó, Kolozsvár, 9 April 1610, published in: Szilágyi, *Monumenta Comitialia*, vol. 6, 173–175.

(Bratislava) that he hoped the emigrants would be granted amnesty, for "the Catholic religion would not be on the verge of dying out in Transylvania if we were there." Statements by his fellow fugitives Pongrác Sennyey and Zsigmond Sarmasághy are in the same vein.[55] When asked later about this subject, István Kornis, too, repeated his religion-based apprehensions:

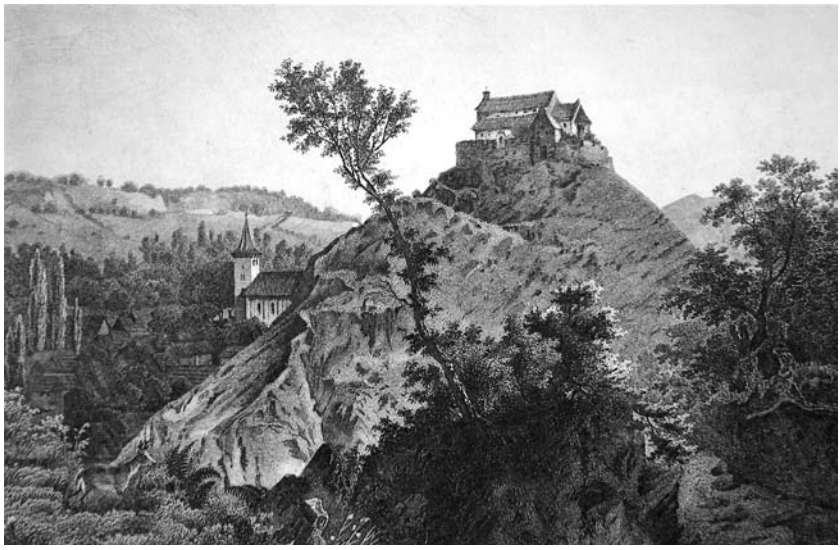
> As we hear it, the assembly shall be moved to Bistritz because the Prince would have us Papists done in, but we too shall take measures to protect ourselves against him, for we have enough cavalry and foot soldiers.[56]

Kornis's claim appears, however, to refer to measures that were taken against the Catholics *after* the attempted assassination of Báthori.[57] There is no documentary evidence for concrete anti-Catholic actions that might have led to the conspiracy. The religious reasons advanced by the conspirators appear instead to be based on the disappointment of the Catholics' expectations when the new prince Gábor Báthori ascended the throne. The prince had been born into a Catholic family and only later, under the influence of his uncle (and foster father), István Báthori (of Ecsed), did he come to Calvinism. In striving to attain the throne, he attempted to solicit the support of the Habsburgs by promising in 1607 to restore the Catholic Church in its traditional rights. Indeed, the first months and years of his reign were very promising from the Catholic point of view. Despite the prohibition of the Jesuits—issued in 1607, still under Rákóczi—Báthori allowed the Jesuit father György Forró, for example, to stay in the country. (Forró welcomed the prince as he entered Kolozsvár in 1609 on the way to the Diet, and requested the return of the Jesuits to Transylvania.) The Catholic estates also submitted a petition on this point, but the decision was deferred until the next Diet. As already mentioned, Báthori was also attempting to assuage Calvinist concerns at this time, promising the Hajduks, for example, that he would "accept Papists neither into his council, nor in his court nor in his administration, for these men can be no true servants of the prince."[58] None of this attests to anti-Catholic measures before the assassination attempt, but there is ample evidence to the contrary. In many places people began to erect churches (for example in Telegd), new Catholic

[55] See Horn, "Őnagysága merénylői," 249.
[56] Deák, A széki merénylet, 478.
[57] Cf. Horn, "Őnagysága merénylői," 250f.
[58] Szilágyi, *Báthory Gábor fejedelem története*, 32.

priests became active (Tövis, Monostor, Gyulafehérvár) and, after Forró, more Jesuits entered the country. Catholic nobles received land and titles and enjoyed the highest respect from the prince. However, these steps so little equaled the exaggerated expectations (from both the Catholic and Reformed sides) that the opposition between the denominational parties increased. All this notwithstanding, the denominational argument is no more persuasive than the theory of the wrathful husbands as the *sole* explanation for the attempted assassination. After the events of the spring of 1610 Báthori did exploit the failed assassination attempt to justify some decisions against the Catholics: prohibitions against the Catholic councils, renewal of the Mediasch articles of 1588, repossession of churches and church properties that had been occupied by the Catholics. But there is a more compelling reason for the retrospective naming of religion as the driving motive for the conspiracy: In view of the renewed efforts at unification between the Habsburgian Kingdom of Hungary and Transylvania, an attempt was made to play down the actual political (and foreign-political) aspects of the conflict[59] and to portray the event as a domestic Transylvanian affair. The cloak of religious conflict was very well suited to this strategy. That religious affiliation was not a determining factor for the assassination attempt is shown also by the fact that a Lutheran, paladin György Thurzó, became one of the most influential supporters of the (Catholic) conspirators after they had fled to Hungary. And that Báthori's punitive measures after the assassination attempt were directed at the nobles involved and not at Catholic estate members in general becomes apparent from the composition of the newly formed princely council, in which the Catholic István Wesselényi could take his place. Other influential

[59] Gábor Báthori's council was politically divided. On one side stood those council members who had come into power already under Zsigmond Báthori (the Kornis, Sennyey, Sarmasághy, and Kendy families). They were predominantly able diplomats and administrators with good contacts to the court in Prague and to Hungarian politicians, and they sought a tighter integration of Transylvania into an Austrian-Hungarian-Czech corporatist alliance. They enjoyed strong support from the Transylvanian-Saxon towns, especially Hermannstadt and Kronstadt. The other faction consisted of János Imreffy, Gábor Bethlen, András Giczy, and others who (largely in agreement with the prince) foresaw a leading role for Transylvania in East-Central Europe. The Danubian principalities and Poland were for them the immediate targets upon which to exercise Transylvanian influence. Beside these diverging political views there were other points of difference. The first group belonged to a long-established elite, while the second united nobles who had risen to prominence under Bocskai, Zsigmond Rákóczi, and even Gábor Báthori himself with landlords who had arrived from Hungary. In addition to all this, there were, of course, the religious differences. Cf. Horn, "Őnagysága merénylői," 252–253.



Michelsberg (near Hermannstadt) On the hill, the fortified Michaelskirche (13th ct.); below, the Marienkirche (14th–18th ct.) (Engraving by G. Hehl, after a drawing by L. Rohbock. Courtesy of the Siebenbürgisches Museum Gundelsheim)

Catholic families as well (for example the Haller and Lázár families) experienced no persecution of any kind.

In early December 1610, Báthori occupied Hermannstadt[60] and, from his new capital, attacked Wallachia. The Porte, however, instructed him

[60] By occupying and looting the capital of the corporatist territory of the *natio Saxonica*, Báthori defied the "ancient freedoms or privileges" ("uralten freyheiten oder privilegien") of this estate in favor of the nobility, under whose pressure a one-sided Diet decreed that forthwith nobles may acquire property in Hermannstadt. Contemporary Transylvanian-Saxon chronicles report banishments and cases of rape in 1611: "everything [was] so abjectly destroyed and laid waste, that it was finally in a state like Sodom and Gomorrah" ("alles iammerlig verheeret und verwüstet, dass ess endtlich wie sodoma und gomorra zugerichtet"). In: Georg Kraus, *Siebenbürgische Chronik 1608–1665* [Transylvanian Chronicle], 2 vols. (Vienna, 1862–1864); reprinted edition: Graz 1969, 18. See also: "Clag der Hochbedraengten Teutsch oder Sachsisch Nation in Siebenbürgen über die an ihnen geübte gräuliche Tyrannei des Gabriels Bathory, 1611," in Georg Daniel Teutsch, "Zur Geschichte der Sachsen unter der Regierung Gabriel Bathori's," *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 22 (1889), 329–366, here 355. On Kronstadt's resistance under town judge Michael Weiss and the request for help that was sent to Vienna, see Gündisch, *Siebenbürgen und die Siebenbürger Sachsen*, 94f.

to vacate the Danubian principality and the court at Prague also sent troops, under Zsigmond Forgách, which, together with Radu Şerban, the deposed prince of Wallachia, defeated Báthori's army near Kronstadt on 11 July 1611. Imperial troops occupied Kolozsvár and Gyulafehérvár, but Báthori was able to drive the royal-imperial forces from the country with the help of the Hajduks and Ottoman troops under the Bosnian pasha Omer and the Temesvár beg Zülfikar. On the home front, Báthori continued to make enemies by his frequent and unjustified confiscations of properties, by the imprisonment of leading persons and nobles, by cruelty, and executions. His still dissolute lifestyle is also well documented in contemporary accounts. Finally, Gábor Bethlen, who had fled the country, was commissioned by Sultan Ahmed I in May 1613 to take over the government of Transylvania.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE RULE OF GÁBOR BETHLEN

Preliminary Remarks

In Gábor Bethlen a staunch opponent of the Habsburgs came to the Transylvanian throne who, like his successor György I Rákóczi, took an active part in the Thirty Years' War on the Protestant side. In order to achieve his goal of uniting the Hungarian territories under Ottoman protection, without however completely subjecting himself to the political will of the Sublime Porte, he relied at first on the support of the alliance that Bocskai had already arranged between the Principality and a corporatist, anti-Habsburg confederation of Austrian, Hungarian, Czech, and Moravian nobles. After the devastating defeat of the Czechs at the Battle of White Mountain, Bethlen searched elsewhere for allies, looking especially to England and the Netherlands. His search was not successful, however, nor did he live to see the formation of a great anti-Habsburg coalition. Even the Hungarian unity that he strove for failed, the estates in Upper Hungary being cowed by the Habsburgs. Bethlen was more effective in domestic politics, where he succeded in consolidating the Transylvanian state apparatus and in strengthening the economy of his country.[1]

The prince also devoted particular interest to educational policy. At his urging, the Diet decreed the founding of a "normal academy" ("közönséges akadémia," *collegium academicum*), which opened its doors in Gyulafehérvár in 1622 with three faculties (theology, philosophy, and law). Such eminent personalities as Martin Opitz, Johann Heinrich Alsted, Johann Heinrich Bisterfeld, and Ludwig Philip Piscator accepted Bethlen's invitation to come to Transylvania and teach at

[1] On Bethlen's life and work see József Barcza, *Bethlen Gábor, a református fejedelem* [Gábor Bethlen, the Reformed Prince] (Budapest, 1987); Kálmán Kovács (ed.), *Bethlen Gábor állama és kora* [The State and the Era of Gábor Bethlen] (Budapest, 1980); László Makkai (ed.), *Bethlen Gábor emlékezete* [In Commemoration of Gábor Bethlen] (Budapest, 1980); Lajos Demény, *Bethlen Gábor és kora* [Gábor Bethlen and his Time] (Bucharest, 1982).

the academy. Through generous endowments the prince ensured that the institution would continue in operation after his death.[2] Bethlen adapted his policy on religions to the multidenominational system that had been established in Transylvania for several decades, but he also worked with determination to improve the position of the Reformed Church. He exerted some pressure on the Orthodox Church and the Catholic Church, but moderated his policies through a number of liberal decrees and the selective granting of favors.

Bethlen and the Orthodox Church

In 1614 Bethlen reconfirmed the Orthodox clergy's privilege of exemption from levies, which Gábor Báthori had decreed. Bethlen also named an Orthodox hierarch for the northern and western parts of Transylvania (Maramureş and Bihar) in the person of Teofil, who was head of the monastery at Prislop.[3] The formation of regional hierarchies with carefully selected leaders improved the prospects of Bethlen's efforts to educate Transylvania's Orthodox Romanians and convert them to Calvinism over the long term. Contemporary sources tell of another Orthodox church authority in Transylvania at this time as well; the metropolitan Teoctist had been leading the church since March 1606 from his residence in Gyulafehérvár ("vlădica din Bălgrad"). In 1615 Teoctist arbitrated disputes among priests of St. Nicholas Church in Kronstadt, but nothing more is known about his tenure or about his interaction with the (predominantly Calvinist) political leaders of the country.

Teoctist was succeeded as metropolitan by Dosoftei (1623/1624[4]–1627), who in all probability was not the princely court's preferred

[2] Bethlen's original intention was actually to found a university, but his early death prevented further development of the institution. Both Bisterfeld (who arrived in Gyulafehérvár shortly after Bethlen's death) and Alsted remained in Transylvania for the rest of their lives, periods of 25 and almost ten years, respectively. Piscator left the Principality after staying for 18 years (1629–1647), Opitz after only one year. Later, Johann Crispinus (1649–1655) and Isaak Basire (1655–1658) would live and work in Transylvania. The academy's buildings were destroyed during the hostilities of 1658. In 1662 Apafi moved the academy to Nagyenyed.

[3] Moisescu, *Istoria bisericii române*, vol. 1, 360f. Cf. to this paragraph Zach, *Orthodoxe Kirche*, 172f.

[4] At Christmas 1623, Teoctist is still the metropolitan, as attested by the inscription on a grave in Gyulafehérvár. On this and the tenure of metropolitan Dosoftei, see Păcurariu, *Istoria bisericii ortodoxe române*, vol. 2, 62.

candidate. Before assuming his position in Gyulafehérvár, Dosoftei was the exarch of the Moldavian monasteries, and temporarily bishop in Roman and Huși, later in Vad und Maramureș as well. His confirmation must be seen as Bethlen's concession to the rulers of Moldavia: Ștefan Tomșa until 1623, Radu Mihnea afterward, with both of whom the Transylvanian prince was on good terms.[5] The new metropolitan maintained his contacts with the princes, hegumens, and hierarchs of Moldavia and, overall, showed himself less than receptive to efforts from the Calvinist side to exert influence on the affairs of the Orthodox Church. Just three years later, in 1627, when Dosoftei's independent manner of running the church came to expression in a synod (sobor) whose decrees included measures for regulation of church life and social discipline,[6] Bethlen removed him. According to chronicles from the 17th and 18th centuries, Dosoftei was imprisoned after his removal.

The new metropolitan was the ennobled hieromonk of Gyulafehérvár, Gheorghe de Brad, who took the name Ghenadie II when he was anointed in 1627 (apparently in Tîrgoviște). Confirmation by the prince came with a list of demands, and the new head of the church was obliged to commit to meeting them. The so-called "five points" were as follows: worship service in the Romanian language (instead of the usual Church Slavonic); sermon in Romanian; the printing and use of Romanian church books; measures to eradicate "superstition"; subordination and obedience to the Calvinist superintendent. The points bore a clearly Calvinist stamp and—together with offers of education

[5] See Mircea Păcurariu, *Legăturile bisericii ortodoxe din Transilvania cu Țara Românească și Moldova în secolele XVI–XVIII* [The Connections of the Orthodox Church in Transylvania to Wallachia and to Moldavia in the 16th–18th Centuries] (Sibiu, 1968), 14f.

[6] The catalogue of offenses and fines that was adopted on this occasion affords a glimpse of some of the derelictions found among the clergy and the laity in the Transylvanian Orthodox parishes: For not knowing the liturgical texts, for not having books, altar vessels, or priestly vestments, the priest was to pay a fine of 24 florins per offense. The same fines applied if mass was not celebrated on a Sunday or holy day because the priest was drunk. Priests who showed themselves unworthy of their calling also had to pay heavy fines or leave the priesthood. Another category of fines targeted the laity: Those who did not—as required—fast two days of the week (24 florins); those who seduced young women (40 florins); those who did not keep the holy days (6 florins). The synodal decrees also clearly reflected the intention to improve the living conditions of broad segments of the Orthodox faithful by establishing a high number of religious holidays on which no work should be done, attempting thereby to relieve the serfs of their burdens of labor. For example, July was to have seven holidays (on the 8th, 15th, 17th, 20th, 22nd, 25th and 27th). In: Decrees of the church synod published in Păcurariu, *Istoria bisericii ortodoxe române*, 62–63.

to the Transylvanian Romanians (already in 1624 Bethlen had made the Calvinist and Lutheran educational institutions accessible to the Romanian population) and selective easing of levies—they constituted the backbone of Bethlen's strategy of Calvinization.[7] In 1629, shortly before his death, the prince wrote to the ecumenical patriarch in Constantinople, Kyrill Lukaris, in an attempt to win the patriarch's assent to the Calvinization of Transylvania's Romanians. Bethlen's missives have not been preserved, but the patriarch's response, written on 2 September 1629, survives:

> If that pitiable nation, deprived of all education, were to convert to Your Highness's faith, out of ignorance or under duress, we, at any rate—from so far away and with our limited means—cannot prevent it. […] But if we were to support, either openly or secretly, this deviation from the faith, it would be a sin not to be washed clean by all earthly suffering. […] In order to accomplish this properly and peacefully, all bonds of affection and blood that tie the Romanians of Transylvania to the populations of Wallachia and Moldavia would first have to be severed. Without doubt, the neighboring rulers of said countries will not allow this and will certainly try to prevent it, if not by arms then by covert exhortations.[8]

Bethlen died soon afterward (15 November 1629), but his religious policy was carried on by his successors. Under the two princes Rákóczi the extent of the ethnic and denominational bonds—accurately surmised by the ecumenical patriarch[9]—between Transylvania's Romanians and the Romanian Orthodox populations of the Danubian principalities would become even more evident.

Lutherans and Crypto-Calvinists

Tendencies towards Calvinism gained strength in the Lutheran Church once Calvinist princes acceded to the throne. During a synod at the beginning of Bethlen's rule, a Calvinist-leaning Transylvanian-Saxon

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[7] On Ghenadie II, the "five points," and Bethlen's correspondence with Kyrill Lukaris, see Moisescu, *Istoria bisericii române*, vol. 1, 361f.; Binder, *Grundlagen und Formen der Toleranz*, 125f.; Păcurariu, *Istoria bisericii ortodoxe române*, 63f.; Zach, *Orthodoxe Kirche*, 173f.

[8] In: Păcurariu, *Istoria bisericii ortodoxe române*, 64.

[9] He knew the conditions in the region well, not only from repeated visits in Moldavia and Wallachia between 1594 and 1620, but also from his good contacts with the princes there.

Schässburg (Engraving by G. M. Kurz, after a drawing by L. Rohbock. Courtesy of the Siebenbürgisches Museum Gundelsheim)

pastor was quite sensationally called to account.[10] This was the Schässburg pastor Paulinus, who was said to have introduced a Reformed catechism into the schools and Reformed songs into the worship service. At the Lutheran synod of 1615, inspired perhaps by the collective intonation of a recommitment to the Augsburg *confessio* and the Reformationsbüchlein, Paulinus responded to the sharp criticism that had been directed toward him earlier in the meeting (especially by the dean of the Hermannstadt chapter) with a public recantation of his heterodoxy. He appears not to have been alone in his views; clergy from the chapters of Keisd, Kosd, and Schenk reportedly held the same opinions, and apparently Paulinus himself did not long abide by his recantation.[11]

[10] Friedrich Teutsch, *Kirche und Schule der Siebenbürger Sachsen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, (Hermannstadt, 1923).

[11] "He continued 'to pick' at the articles of the synod." Ibid.

Simon Péchi

In 1620, Bethlen's chancellor, Simon Péchi, was at the height of his political career. Having become the second most powerful politician in the country when Bethlen was elected king of Hungary on 25 August 1620, Péchi intensified his efforts to expand his international network, now with the concrete goal of winning for himself Transylvania's princely throne.[12] All the while appearing outwardly to support Bethlen's ambitious, decidedly anti-Habsburg efforts, Péchi managed to have himself regarded at the Viennese court as the key figure in Transylvania's foreign policy and was treated there as potentially the future head of state. Leading a contingent sent to defend Prague against imperial troops, Péchi arrived late on the battlefield, thereby successfully preventing the execution of Bethlen's plan to join the Hungarian troops with the Czech-Silesian army. For this Péchi was richly rewarded by the imperial side. He continued to play a double role in January 1621 in the peace negotiations between Bethlen and Ferdinand: As leader of the Hungarian delegation he officially represented Bethlen's position, but the minutes from meetings at the Hungarian chancellery in Vienna show that the Habsburgs also considered him a promising candidate for the princely throne. He was also favored by a faction in Constantinople under the leadership of the grand vizier Skender, which indicated the possibility of a future preference vis-à-vis Bethlen; an openly "pro-German" prince seemed more predictable to the Ottoman decision makers than the independent-minded Bethlen. However, when Skender died in the spring of 1621 and Bethlen's position was seriously weakened by the Hungarian estates' crossing over to the Habsburg party, the Porte dropped Péchi and informed Bethlen of the chancellor's betrayal. Péchi was arrested on 23 May 1621 on Bethlen's orders and, after several interrogations, was brought to Kővár, where he would spend the next three and a half years.[13]

After the sudden termination of his political career, Péchi devoted himself in prison to a preliminary systematization of his philosophical-theoretical and religious-philosophical constructs, which in the final years before his imprisonment had received their stamp primarily from his study of neo-stoicism, but also from reading the works of Martin

[12] This is treated comprehensively in: Dán, *Az erdélyi szombatosok*, 141–171.

[13] On the events surrounding Péchi's imprisonment and his literary activities during the three and a half years, see ibid., 172–202.

Seidel and Christian Francken. A first production, "Az Zent Atjaktol ki szedegettet tanusagok,"[14] apparently written in the first half of 1621, is a translation (with commentary) of the Avot tractate from the Talmud. Péchi's first larger work demonstrates his impressive knowledge of Hebrew and of the rabbinical sources and terminology. This (documented) intense study of the Talmud and the Old-Testament books Job and Ecclesiastes (which he also translated into Hungarian) contributed significantly to a reorientation of Péchi's thinking.[15]

The international political situation had changed by the autumn of 1624, and Bethlen was willing to free Péchi in exchange for a letter of assurance signed by the latter and the payment of a large sum of money. Among his most committed supporters was the royal judge of the Udvarhely seat, Ferenc Kornis, who was able to persuade numerous eminent figures in Transylvanian politics to sign a guarantee for Péchi. Not only the amount of the guaranteed sum (100,000 florins, which equaled the Principality's tax revenue for a year) but also the composition of the group of signatories deserves particular mention. Among the guarantors were Upper-Hungarian magnates, nobles from the Transylvanian counties, Saxon patricians, upper-class Szeklers, but also towns (for example Kolozsvár and Hermannstadt).[16] However, high-ranking clerics—especially in the Unitarian Church—and Sabbatarians were noticeably absent from the list. The Unitarians apparently no longer considered Péchi as one of their own because of his radical views, and the Sabbatarians had not yet accepted him as a fellow believer. This would change in the years after Péchi returned to Szenterzsébet (the only property he still owned) in December 1624, as the development of the Sabbatarian movement entered its most dynamic phase.[17]

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[14] *Az Zent Atjaktol ki szedegettet tanusagok, magjiarra Sidobol fordittatot Pechi Simontol, az isten teörveniet szereto Attafiak kedviert es epületekert* [Selected Teachings of the Holy Fathers, Translated from Hebrew into Hungarian by Simon Péchi, for the Edification of Fellow Men Who Love the Law of God]. Cf. János Kriza, "A szent atyáktól kiszedegetett tanulságok. Péchi Simontól [Selected Teachings of the Holy Fathers by Simon Péchi]," *Keresztény Magvető* 10 (1875), 45–49; József Koncz, "A szent atyáktól kiszedegetett tanulságok [Selected Teachings of the Holy Fathers]," *Keresztény Magvető* 20 (1885), 164–169; Kornélia Kolta, *Péchi Simon kiadatlan rabbinikus írásai: Az Atyák mondásai—Pirqé ávot fordítása (1620/21)* [The Unpublished Rabbinical Writings of Simon Péchi: The Teachings of the Fathers—the Translation of the Pirkei Avot (1620/21)] (Budapest, 1999).

[15] Cf. to this paragraph Dán, *Az erdélyi szombatosok*, 197f.

[16] See Köpeczi, *Erdély története*, vol. 2, 685f.

[17] For Samuel Kohn, the first significant historian of Sabbatarianism, Péchi's release signals the beginning of the movement's second period, "the shortest in duration and the most important in terms of content and consequences." See his *Die Sabbatharier*

Anti-Sabbatarian Decrees of the Diet. Gábor Bethlen's Granting of the Jewish Privilege

Following up on the anti-Sabbatarian decrees enacted in 1606 and 1610, the Diet of Kolozsvár, held 4–21 October 1618, adopted a text with the title *Propositio illustrissimi domino principis contra Judaizantes sive Sabbatarios, et alios extra recepta confessiones novam in Transylvania sectam profitentes.*[18] It includes the following passage:

> Believing and confessing as we do that our princely dignity is by the grace of God, we consider it our most important and pressing duty to protect the adoration of God in our realm, and to eradicate false worship and sects that are outside the recognized religions. Sects have arisen in some parts of the country and have been propagated outside the *religiones receptae*, as for example Judaism [that is, Sabbatarianism] and similar blasphemies. Their concealment will draw God's terrible punishment down upon all of us, the signs of which are already apparent.

Despite some strict formulations and the promise of sanctions in the rest of the text,[19] this decree apparently reflected not so much the prince's resolve to move vigorously against the Sabbatarians as the attempt to use this means (i.e. another decree on religions by a secular body) to strengthen the inner solidarity of the country and to send a positive signal to the Principality's recognized religious communities. Another aim expressed in the text was to improve the country's "deplorable reputation" in international circles.[20] The decree had no serious effect on the Sabbatarians or their activities; no measures are known to have been taken against them by the civil authorities. One of the few concrete reactions occurred a few weeks later (11 November 1621) at the church synod in Erdőszentgyörgy, where the Unitarians officially

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in Siebenbürgen, 163f. Kohn marks the close of this period with the trial at Dés in 1638.

[18] Szilágyi, *Monumenta Comitialia*, vol. 7, 488–489. Cf. to this section Dán, *Az erdélyi szombatosok*, 106f.

[19] "We, as the Diet, have therefore decided […] that should any persons in this country, be it a teacher or a person of any estate whatever, not have converted to one of the recognized religions by this coming Christmas Day […] His Reverence shall punish them and their protectors without exception." In: Szilágyi, *Monumenta Comitialia*, vol. 7, 489. The mandate to track down and punish the Sabbatarians was given to the Reformed superintendent János Keserűi Dajka.

[20] "Our deplorable reputation abroad, due to the many faiths that have arisen, should be cleared. Once God has thus been rightly served, so may Your Graces confidently turn to address other unfinished and important things." In: ibid.

Gábor Bethlen (Contemporary engraving. Courtesy of the Siebenbürgisches Museum Gundelsheim)

distanced themselves from the "Judaizers."[21] That the decree against the Sabbatarians from 1618 had no effect was confirmed at the Diet of Bistritz in 1621 (29 September–1 October). An article was adopted in which the anti-Sabbatarian text was revisited and cast in a new form.[22] This happened most probably under pressure from the established denominations, for even in the following years Bethlen undertook no further steps.

A telling expression of Bethlen's insouciance with respect to religious communities outside the *religiones receptae* was the charter for Jewish immigrants issued by the prince in June 1623. Bethlen granted a number

[21] Kohn, *A szombatosok*, 85; Székely, *Az unitária vallás történetei Erdélyben*, 133.

[22] "Those who to this day emulate Judaism were not willing to change their ways, even after they were warned by Your Highness and the Diet. We have in earlier years in this Diet written a decree concerning them, which even now retains its validity in all points and clauses." The grace period was even shorter than the one granted in 1618; those still living outside the *religiones receptae* after eight days were to be punishable under the law. The text of the decree is printed in Szilágyi, *Monumenta Comitialia*, vol. 7, 108. Cf. Dán, *Az erdélyi szombatosok*, 114f.

of privileges to Jews in response to a request made by a physician from Constantinople, Abraham Sarsa.[23] The letter patent can actually be viewed as another of the prince's measures to consolidate the state apparatus and improve economic conditions in the Principality, but it was precipitated by a private matter. Bethlen suffered from hydropsy and Sarsa was invited to Gyulafehérvár to treat him.[24] Jews typically appear as physicians treating princes in the sources that describe Transylvania in the first third of the 17th century,[25] or in connection with economic transactions. For example, during Bethlen's time Jewish trade agents in Constantinople brokered the sale of Transylvanian quicksilver.[26]

The charter's eleven points lay out the basic legal, economic, and political conditions for future Jewish settlers.[27] Among these are the permission to trade; the unhindered importation and exportation of their wares through border crossings and customs stations; a judge (*iudex Judaeorum*) who has jurisdiction for disputes both within and outside the Jewish community; the same obligation to pay taxes that was incumbent on other immigrants, but also the same privileges that were enjoyed by the Habans;[28] finally, according to the charter, the right to

[23] In some contemporary documents the name of the physician appears as Saka or Sassa. The background of the relationship between Abraham Sarsa and the prince of Transylvania is illuminated by the memoirs of the Transylvanian diplomat (and Bethlen's business agent), Tamás Borsos, who in the years 1618–1619 traveled to Constantinople, partly in order to sell quicksilver. See László Kocziány (ed.), *Tamás Borsos: Vásárhelytől a Fényes Portáig* [From Vásárhely to the Sublime Porte] (Bucharest, 1972), 105, 121 and 225f. Cf. Mihály Sebestyén, *Nyúlgát az idő ellen. Az erdélyi zsidóság történetéhez* [Rabbit's Dam Against the Tides of Time: On the History of Transylvanian Jewry] (Marosvásárhely, 2000), 29.

[24] See Bethlen's letter to Mihály Toldalagi of 15 June 1623, printed in: Mihai Spielmann (ed.), *Izvoare și mărturii referitoare la evreii din România* [Sources and Testimonials Relating to the Jews in Romania], vol. 2/1 (Bucharest, 1988), 202.

[25] See, for instance, the case of István Bocskai in 1606. In: Victor Eskenazy (ed.), *Izvoare și mărturii referitoare la evreii din România* [Sources and Testimonials Relating to the Jews in Romania], vol. 1 (Bucharest, 1986), 76–77, nr. 101.

[26] Michael Spielmann-Sebestyén, "Abraham Sarsa, Prince Gabriel Bethlen and the 1623 Privilege-Charter for the Jews," in Liviu Rotman (ed.), *First International Conference on the History of the Jews in Romania* (Tel Aviv, 1993), 95–103; cf. to this paragraph Ladislau Gyémánt, "Die Juden in Siebenbürgen bis zum 18. Jahrhundert," in Leppin, *Konfessionsbildung und Konfessionskultur*, 191–200, here 196.

[27] Printed in Eskenazy, *Izvoare*, vol. 1, 89–91, nr. 119. The text of the charter may also be found in Moshe Carmilly-Weinberger, *Istoria evreilor din Transilvania (1623–1944)* [History of the Transylvanian Jews (1623–1944)] (Bucharest, 1994), 53–55.

[28] Economic considerations were also decisive in the settlement of the Habans (Moravian Hutterites), with Péchi playing a central role here. On behalf of Bethlen, but acting also in his own interest, he visited the settlements of the Moravian brotherhood

maintain their customs and practice their religion. However, a sentence was inserted here that would have serious consequences. It stated that the Jewish community must see to it that the exercise of their religion does not interfere with the members of other religious communities. Non-Jewish tradesmen and guild members would eventually use this paragraph to make things difficult for unwelcome Jewish competitors, thus transposing economic competition to the religious sphere.[29] Jewish immigrants were also granted the right to convert to one of the received religions and to enjoy its privileges. A specific mode of dress was not stipulated. The first Jewish immigrants in the 17th century (Sephardic Jews from the Ottoman realm) usually dressed in the oriental style of their land of origin.[30] Gyulafehérvár was the designated town for Jewish settlement,[31] the prince being eager to make the residence a hub not only of cultural but also of economic impulses; at that time, Gyulafehérvár lagged both culturally and economically far behind such towns as Kolozsvár, Nagyvárad, Hermannstadt, and Kronstadt.

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in the Nyitra county in 1621 and made an offer to those who were willing to resettle. The chronicler of the Hutterite Brothers reports: "At the beginning of 1621, a certain Chancellor Bötsei [that is, Péchi] Simon arrived from Transylvania […], he said he had come to express the wish of the elected King of Hungary and Prince of Transylvania, etc. that our principals might allow experienced tradesmen from our community to resettle in Transylvania; he said further that he himself would like settlers to make their homes on his properties, too, and he promised them complete freedom and paternal protection." In: A. J. Friedrich Zieglschmidt (ed.), *Die älteste Chronik der Hutterischen Brüder* (New York, 1943), 762f. Already in early April about 200 Anabaptist Habans departed for Transylvania with 18 horse-drawn wagons and an escort of 70 soldiers. A large part of the tradesmen (among them potters, saddlers, masons, weavers, dyers) settled in Alvinc, while others (especially masons) moved to the Péchi's properties, where they rendered valuable service on construction projects, for example the remodeling of the Udvarhely Castle. Cf. Dán, *Az erdélyi szombatosok*, 182f. See also Elek Jakab, "Erdély és az anabaptisták a 17.–18. században [Transylvania and the Anabaptists in the 17th and 18th Centuries]," *Keresztény Magvető* 11 (1876), 1–14.

[29] Sebestyén, *Nyúlgát az idő ellen*, 38.

[30] Not until the middle of the 18th century did Ashkenazi Jews come to Transylvania, bringing with them the style of dress that is worn by orthodox Jews to this day.

[31] Records of levies from the 17th century, however, clearly document the existence of Jewish communities in various towns of the Principality: Jews paid levies beginning in 1636 in Temesvár, 1657 in Gherla, 1660 in Schässburg, 1662 in Mediasch, 1668 in Bistritz, 1685 in Hermannstadt, 1691 in Kolozsvár and Torda, 1693 in Marosvásárhely. Cf. Carmilly-Weinberger, *Istoria evreilor*, 22. On the history of the Jews in Transylvania see also Angelika Schaser, "Die Juden Siebenbürgens vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert," *Südost-Forschungen* 49 (1990), 57–94 (with an annotated bibliography, 92–94).

The Catholic Church under Bethlen

The status catholicus

After the brief tenure of bishop Bornemisza and the final collapse of the Catholic ecclesiastic organization in Transylvania, the Gyulafehérvár see was secularized in 1556, and the episcopal seat remained vacant until 1713.[32] Nevertheless, some significant episodes in the development of the Catholic Church in post-Reformation Transylvania took place under Bethlen's rule.[33] In 1615 an organization that had been advocating Catholic interests since the end of the 16th century made its first appearance at the Diet: the *status catholicus*. Consisting of both laity and clergy, it concerned itself with the administration of schools and other assets of the Catholic Church, and—as representative of the Catholic estate, so to speak—looked after the extra-theological concerns of the Catholics in Transylvania, who now led an enclave-like existence among Protestants.[34] Thus, a unique model for participation of the laity in church administration and leadership (as opposed, for example, to French Gallicanism) arose from a contingent of laymen possessing a partial *potestas jurisdictionis*, which from the theocratic-Catholic perspective was quite unusual.[35]

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[32] Except for several brief periods between 1598–1604 when Demeter Náprágyi acted as bishop.

[33] On the Catholic Church in the time of Bethlen see Vencel Bíró, "Bethlen Gábor és az erdélyi katholicizmus [Gábor Bethlen and Transylvanian Catholicism]," *Erdélyi Irodalmi Szemle* 6 (1929), 253–273.

[34] See Zach, "Die katholische Kirche in Siebenbürgen," 43–67, here 61f.; Joachim Bahlcke, "*Status catholicus* und Kirchenpolitik in Siebenbürgen. Entwicklungsphasen des römisch-katholischen Klerus zwischen Reformation und Josephinismus," in Lengyel, *Siebenbürgen in der Habsburgermonarchie*, 151–180, here 158f.; Edit Szegedi, "Die katholische Autonomie in Siebenbürgen," in Matthias Theodor Vogt, Jan Sokol, and Eugenius Tomiczek (eds.), *Kulturen in Begegnung* (Görlitz, 2004), 335–352, here 335–336. Concerning restrictions on the Catholic Church despite the laws guaranteeing equal rights of the *religiones receptae*, see Daugsch, "Toleranz im Fürstentum Siebenbürgen," 35–72; Walter Daugsch, "Gegenreformation und protestantische Konfessionsbildung in Siebenbürgen zur Zeit Stephan Báthorys (1571–1584)," in Weber, *Luther und Siebenbürgen*, 215–228.

[35] Ignácz Kosutány, *Egyházjog. A magyarországi egyházak alkotmánya és közigazgatása* [Church Law: The Constitution and Administration of the Hungarian Churches] (Kolozsvár, 1903), 236f.; Mihály Bocskor, *Az erdélyi katolikus autonómia* [The Transylvanian Catholic Authonomy] (Kolozsvár, 1911). Cf. Szegedi, "Die katholische Autonomie," 3.

The first known Catholic vicars of the 17th century also appear during Bethlen's time: Márton Fehérdi (1618–1626) and Miklós Fejér (1626–1634).[36] Vicars, elected at church assemblies and confirmed by the prince, were the formal leaders of the Catholic Church in Transylvania, especially since none of the bishops named by the emperor (and "apostolic" king of Hungary) were recognized by the pope, nor did they reside in Transylvania.

Transylvania and the Propaganda Fide

Of course the Habsburgs were not the only outside authority claiming rights of patronage in the Principality; there was also Rome.[37] After 1556 the pope considered the territory of the former Gyulafehérvár see as *terra missionum* and in 1622 assigned it to the newly founded Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (*Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*). On 4 July 1622 the archbishop of Esztergom, Péter Pázmány, congratulated Pope Gregory XV on the new organization and sent the pontiff a report, dated 20 June 1622, on the situation of the church in Hungary and Transylvania.[38] Pázmány described the situation as extremely precarious:[39] In royal Hungary, he wrote, most of the inhabitants were Lutherans or Calvinists, and only a tenth of the population remained Catholic; moreover, the political situation was

[36] A list of the Transylvanian vicars in the 17th century can be found in József Márton (ed.), *Az erdélyi/gyulafehérvári egyházmegye története* [History of the Transylvanian/Gyulafehérvár See] (Gyulafehérvár, 1993), 204: the vicars named above were followed by György Ferenczi (1634–1641), István P. Szalinai/Stefano a Salinas (1641–1653), János Sükösd (1654–1659), János László (1659–1669), Kázmér P. Domokos/Damokos (1669–1677), János Kászoni (1677–1678), Bertalan Szebelébi (1678–1707). See also Károly Veszely, *Erdélyi egyháztörténelmi adatok* [Church Historical Data from Transylvania], vol. 1 (Kolozsvár, 1860), 40–51, 54–57, 296–301.

[37] Antal Jakab, "Az erdélyi római katolikus püspöki szék betöltésének vitája a 17. században [The Controversy Regarding the Nomination of a Transylvanian Roman-Catholic Bishop in the 17th Century]," *Erdélyi Múzeum* 49 (1944), 5–20.

[38] On this paragraph, see István György Tóth (ed.), *Litterae missionariorum de Hungaria et Transilvania*, vol. 1 (Rome, 2002), 27–80.

[39] Co-signers of the report to the Propaganda Fide were, besides Pázmány, four other Hungarian bishops (Bálint Lépes, Miklós Dallos, Ferenc Ergely, János Telegdy). The text has been published several times, for example in: Michael Laczko, *Memoriale archiepiscopi Strigoniensis Petri cardinalis Pázmány ad Sacram Congregationem de Propaganda Fide de modo iuvandi religionem catholicam in Hungaria anno 1622* (Most, 1956), 83–93.

anything but favorable; as a result of royal decrees and liberal laws on religion, the Catholic Church was on the defensive, and even bishops (in Hungary) had to tolerate the "infernal priests" (*ministros infernales*) of Protestantism on their properties; in Transylvania, except for the Szekler lands, there were only two or three noble house chaplains left, while three or four (disguised) Jesuits at most were in the country, and only about six secular priests. The one region that was still more or less Catholic, according to Pázmány, was in the Szekler lands, with the monastery in Csíksomlyó and the two or three Franciscans living there, as well as about 10 clergymen in the surrounding villages.

The remedial actions recommended by Pázmány, himself a founder of seminaries, were primarily concerned with the training of the next generation of priests. He suggested that the pope follow the example of his predecessor, Gregory XIII, who had supported István Báthori's efforts in this direction with a significant donation, and he expressed confidence that the sponsoring of a Transylvanian Catholic university by the pope would have a considerable effect on the nobles' denominational commitment in the region. He also urged that exemplary, learned, and Hungarian-speaking monks be sent to Csíksomlyó. In another letter from 1622 Miklós Dallos (the bishop of Vác) described the situation in Hungary and Transylvania in the same terms.[40] Decisions taken in subsequent years by the Propaganda Fide followed Pázmány's recommendations. Until about 1630 the Franciscan monastery in East-Transylvanian Csíksomlyó was the focal point of the efforts. According to the minutes of the Propaganda Fide, the Congregation addressed concerns in Hungary more than 50 times between 1622 and 1629. Transylvania was on the agenda nine times, each time in connection with questions relating to Csíksomlyó. Already in his letter to the Propaganda Fide in 1622, Pázmány had said that the monastery in Csíksomlyó, the "last bastion of Transylvanian Catholicism," was in the process of becoming completely run down, because its occupants were gradually dying off. Francesco Ingoli, secretary of the Propaganda Fide, responded by calling on the Franciscans to send monks to Transylvania, but without success. Two years later Pázmány emphatically

[40] Vilmos Frankl and Károly Ráth (eds.), *Dallos Miklós győri püspöknek politikai és diplomatiai iratai (1618–1626)* [The Political and Diplomatic Writings of the Bishop of Győr, Miklós Dallos (1618–1626)] (Esztergom, 1867), 230–234.

reminded the Congregation that his call had not been answered and that there were now no monks still living in Csíksomlyó. The Catholic nobles who supported the monastery feared that the vacant property would fall into complete ruin. Indeed, according to local accounts, the population of the surrounding villages helped themselves to the abandoned resources; much was pilfered, from bottles of wine to the monks' spectacles. Finally, the patrons of the monastery arranged for books, clothing, etc. to be secured in the sacristy, where guards were posted. They also brought in a Greek Franciscan missionary (Fra Niccolo Querinus) from the monastery in Tîrgovişte (Wallachia), who looked after things until 1626.

After the Propaganda Fide failed in its attempt to have Franciscan observants sent to Csíksomlyó, they tried to hand the monastery over to the Capuchins. The leaders of the Austrian Capuchin province declined, even though the most distinguished cardinal in the Congregation, Antonio Barberini (brother of Pope Urban VIII and Cardinal Protector of the Capuchin order) had lobbied for this solution. Finally in 1626, with the support of Pázmány, Hungarian Salvatorians came to Csíksomlyó, which thus became in the following decades the most important center of Catholicism in Transylvania.[41] In addition to Franciscans, some Jesuits sojourned in Transylvania toward the end of the 1620s. They generally kept a low profile, dressed as secular priests (for example István Szini in Gyulafehérvár, or István Móri in Kolozsmonostor) and were tolerated by Bethlen. The Congregation had no control over their activities, rather they reported directly to the Jesuit superior general.[42]

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[41] On the Franciscans in Transylvania and in southeastern Lower Hungary, as well as the Csíksomlyó monastery, see Zach, *Die bosnische Franziskanermission*; János Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferenc rendjének története Magyarországon* [The History of the Order of St. Francis in Hungary], vol. 2 (Budapest, 1924), 413–438; Fortunát Boros, *Az erdélyi ferencrendiek* [The Translvanian Franciscans] (Kolozsvár, 1924), 64–92; Fortunát Boros, *A csíksomlyói harminckét confrater* [The Thirty-Two Csíksomlyó Brethren] (Kolozsvár, 1923), 31–39; Ferenc Galla, "A csíksomlyói ferencrendi kolostor viszontagságai Bethlen Gábor idején [The Tumultuous History of the Franciscan Monastery in Csíksomlyó at the time of Gabriel Bethlen]," *A gróf Klebelsberg Kuno Magyar Történetkutató Intézet évkönyve* [The Yearbook of the Count Klebelsberg Hungarian Historical Institute] 4 (Budapest, 1934), 282–302.

[42] On the Jesuit mission in Transylvania see Lucian Periş, *Le missioni Gesuite in Transilvania e Moldavia nel Seicento* (Cluj-Napoca, 1998); Mihály Balázs (ed.), *Erdélyi és hódoltsági jezsuita missziók* [Jesuit Missions in Transylvania and in Ottoman Hungary],

Apparently for lack of more precise information about the situation in the Principality, the Congregation requested reports in 1629 and 1630 from Transylvanians who were studying in Rome (János Nagyajtai Darkó und Szeráfin Kun), but their reports appear to have proved very imprecise indeed, since they were produced from memory. Immediately afterward Nagyajtai Darkó was sent by the Congregation as an apostolic missionary to Transylvania. However, Darkó chose to stay in royal Hungary and developed his missionary work there. After Bethlen's death (1629) the political conditions and the fact that Bethlen's young widow and successor to the throne, Katharina von Brandenburg, converted to Catholicism, made it possible for a small group of Bosnian Franciscans to proselytize in Transylvania. Of the four monks originally sent by the Congregation, two (Stefano a Salina and Stefano a Lopara) remained in the Principality for the rest of their lives.

The Reformed Church

At the beginning of the 17th century Calvinist nobles were trying to ensure a good education for their clergymen. Influential Transylvanian and Hungarian supporters subsidized Calvinist students at foreign universities. Thus, a number of future Reformed superintendents in Transylvania received their training at Heidelberg: János Keserűi Dajka (leader of the Reformed Church of Transylvania between 1618 and 1633), István Geleji Katona (1633–1649), György Csulai (1650–1660).[43] Beginning in 1614 the prince himself helped defray the costs of several students at Heidelberg; by 1622, more than 20 students were being supported by the Bethlen family. Among the beneficiaries were Bethlen's

part I, vols. 1–2 (Szeged, 1990); Antal Molnár, "Jezsuita misszió Karánszebesen [Jesuit Mission in Karánszebes] (1625–1642)," *Történelmi szemle* 1–2 (1999), 127–156; Violeta Barbu, "Rezidenţele iezuite din prima jumătate a secolului al XVII-lea în vestul Transilvaniei. Strategii misionare [The Jesuit Residences in the First Half of the 17th Century: Mission Strategies]," *Verbum* 7 (1995–96), 279–283.

[43] A total of eleven future Hungarian or Transylvanian superintendents and 29 later archdeacons were educated in Heidelberg by 1622. See János Heltai, "Adattár a heidelbergi egyetemen 1595–1621 között tanult magyarországi diákokról és pártfogóikról [Collected Data on the Hungarian Students Educated in Heidelberg between 1595 and 1621 and their Sponsors]," *Országos Széchenyi Könyvtár Évkönyve* [Yearbook of the National Széchenyi Library] 1980, 243–345. Cf. to this section Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier*, 46–76.

two nephews, in whose progress he showed an active interest.[44] The Rákóczi family, too, and other noble families energetically supported the *peregrinatio academica* of Reformed theology students. In addition to a thorough academic education, these young men brought back with them many works of western theology, which they often gave to their benefactors or to local schools, or the students served as book purchasers for their sponsors.[45] On this basis, some of the focal points of Hungarian and Transylvanian theology can be discerned, as to which works were considered particularly important, and which figures of western Calvinist theology were influential at that time in the East-Central European regions: the Heidelberg theologian David Pareus, for instance, who also maintained personal relations with Bethlen and sent him his works.[46] A volume published by Pareus in Heidelberg in 1620, with anti-Catholic theological disputations and containing a large number of contributions from students "ex natione Ungarica et Transylvanica," was dedicated to János Keserűi Dajka.[47] Pareus's teachings and his vision of an anti-Catholic, interdenominational Protestant

[44] Imre Lukinich, *A Bethlen-fiúk külföldi iskoláztatása, 1619–1628* [The Education of the Bethlen Sons Abroad, 1619–1628] (Budapest, 1926).

[45] During his stay in Heidelberg, the future Transylvanian superintendent István Geleji Katona bought works by such authors as Calvin, Beza, Perkins, Keckermann, and Pareus. See János Koncz, "Geleji Katona István könyveinek lajstroma [The List of István Geleji Katona's Books]," *Magyar Könyvszemle* 24 (1899), 270–276. In the same manner the princely academy in Nagyenyed came to possess a number of contemporary theological and philosophical works. See Zsigmond Jakó, "A nagyenyedi Bethlen kollégium könyvtárának kezdetei és első korszaka (1622–1658) [The Beginnings and First Period of the Library of Bethlen College in Nagyenyed]" in his *Irás, könyv, értelmiség* [Writing, Books, Intellectuality] (Bucharest, 1976), 199–209. On the contents of the Rákóczi's library in Sárospatak see, for example, István Harsányi, *A sárospataki Rákóczi-könyvtár és katalógusa* [The Rákóczi Library in Sárospatak and Its Catalogue] (Budapest, 1917). Cf. Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier*, 55.

[46] Thus, for example, his publication of 1614, *Irenicum, sive De Unione et Synodo Evangelicorum Concilianda Liber Votivus*, in which Pareus agitates for a common line of action for the Protestant churches—Lutheran and Calvinist—against the Catholic Church. Bethlen, for his part, returned the favor at the beginning of 1617 by sending Pareus his portrait as a New Year's present, at the same time recommending two new students to him. A year later Pareus wrote a letter praising the students and expressing joy at the improved condition of the Reformed communities in Transylvania. See János Heltai, "David Pareus magyar kapcsolatai [David Pareus's Hungarian Connections]," in János Herner (ed.), *Tudóslevelek: Művelődésünk külföldi kapcsolataihoz 1577–1797* [Scholars' Letters: On Our Cultural Relations Abroad] (Szeged, 1989), 13–77.

[47] David Pareus, *Collegiorum theologicorum quibus universa theologica orthodoxa, et omnes prope theologorum huius temporis controversae perspicue et varie explicantur, pars altera* (Heidelberg, 1620).

Kolozsvár (Detail of an engraving by K. Gungel and J. M. Kolb, after a drawing by L. Rohbock. Courtesy of the Siebenbürgisches Museum Gundelsheim)

union would continue to be propagated by his Transylvanian students in their respective home regions, creating unrest in the ranks of the church's organization.

Transylvanian-Saxon Antitrinitarians in Kolozsvár

In 1620 Valentinus Radecius (Radeczky), pastor of Kolozsvár and Unitarian superintendent, published a German-language Unitarian songbook. Radecius was one of the Antitrinitarian clergymen who were called from Poland to minister to the Transylvanian-Saxon Unitarian community and who were integrated into the *natio Saxonica*.[48] From 1616 to 1632 the theologian from Danzig (Gdansk) served as superintendent and pastor in a city where the Transylvanian Saxons (like the Hungarians) were now predominantly Antitrinitarian. In this they differed from the Transylvanian Saxons of the Königsboden, a difference that in the longer term led to a weakening of the relations between Kolozsvár and the Königsboden. Even if outside this town it was rare for Transylvanian Saxons to belong to a non-Lutheran (especially an Antitrinitarian) denomination, the example of Kolozsvár illustrates the denominational diversity of the Transylvanian *nationes*. At the

[48] On the Transylvanian Saxons in Kolozsvár, see Edit Szegedi, "Sächsische Identität im Klausenburg des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 22/1 (1999), 14–21; Edit Szegedi, "Die Reformation in Klausenburg," in Leppin, *Konfessionsbildung und Konfessionskultur*, 77–88; see also Pirnát, *Die Ideologie der Siebenbürger Antitrinitarier*, 50.

same time, it is important to remember the politically and juridically complex situation of Kolozsvár's Saxon population, who increasingly spoke and wrote Hungarian while retaining German as the language of their church services and looking to the Königsboden as the model in many other respects.[49]

[49] For example in the custom of electing pastors from among the non-clergy, all the while stressing the denominational difference: "Concerning the election of a pastor from among the non-clergy, it is nothing new in our *natio*. [Only that] this denomination and religion is nowhere else adopted by the Saxons; one finds it only among us, as long as God maintains our union." From: "A kolozsvári magyar és szász unitáriusok czivakodása 1592–ben. [The Dispute Between the Hungarian and Saxon Unitarians in 1592]," *Keresztény Magvető* 20/2 (1885), 90. Cf. Szegedi, *Geschichtsbewusstsein und Gruppenidentität*, 176.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE PRINCIPALITY'S GOLDEN AGE AND DECLINE

Developments in Foreign Policy (1630–1660)

Coming to power in 1630, György I Rákóczi continued the foreign policy of Gábor Bethlen and worked intensively to integrate Transylvania into an anti-Habsburg alliance. At the same time, he had to fend off an attack from another pretender to the throne: his predecessor's brother. István Bethlen invaded Transylvania with Ottoman assistance, but Rákóczi defeated him decisively in October 1636. After signing treaties of alliance with Sweden and France, the prince—with permission from the Porte—led his army, together with Swedish troops, on a campaign against the Habsburgs in Moravia. In 1645 Rákóczi reached an agreement with the Viennese court in the Peace Treaty of Linz, and Transylvania received several Upper-Hungarian counties as compensation. After the prince's death (two weeks before the Peace of Westphalia on 24 October 1648), his son György II Rákóczi assumed rule at a time when the Principality was at the pinnacle of its political and military might.[1] This would change abruptly in 1657, when Rákóczi, allied with King Karl X Gustav (and without informing the Sultan, let alone obtaining consent), made an attempt on the Polish throne, with calamitous consequences for his country: After a devastating defeat in southern Poland, Transylvania was over the next five years the target of repeated incursions of Polish, Ottoman, and Crimean-Tartar troops, who laid waste to the country with the same vehemence as foreign armies had done during the years 1600–1605. The Porte removed György II Rákóczi in the year of his Polish campaign, but Rákóczi resisted his successors, Ferenc Rhédey and Ákos (Acațiu) Barcsai, for the next three years.

[1] See Volkmer, *Das Fürstentum Siebenbürgen*, 149–156, here 153.

The Orthodox Church under the Rákóczis: Between Cooperation and Conflict

Educational Policy

Part of the Calvinization strategy aimed at Transylvania's Romanians was an aggressive educational policy. From 1624 on Romanians had the opportunity to send their children to the country's Hungarian and German schools, an offer that the Calvinist superintendent, Csulai, reiterated in 1640.[2] In 1656 the wife of György II Rákóczi, Zsuzsánna Lórántffy, founded a Romanian school in Făgăraş, which all future Romanian pastors and teachers of the Olt region had to attend. All of the founding documents and school regulations reflect the pedagogical-political ideas of the founder (and of the prince), among them the idea that schools were intended not only to educate, but also to promote peaceful co-existence among ethnic groups.[3] Therefore the need was emphasized for interaction between the Romanian school and the Hungarian school that stood next to it. The pupils of both institutions were admonished—on pain of punishment—to cooperate agreeably with one another. The rights and duties of both schools were the same; the Romanian school, too, had the duty to seek out good teachers and constantly review the quality of instruction. Good students were to be given the opportunity to attend higher-level schools and those with financial needs were to be assisted. The Romanian schoolmaster was to receive the same compensation as his Hungarian colleague. Concerning the content of instruction, the primary focus in the Romanian school was on reading and writing in the Romanian language and on learning Romanian church songs and religious texts (the Ten Commandments, the Nicene Creed, the Lord's Prayer). The students were also tested on the Calvinist catechism.

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[2] Institutions of advanced education open to Romanians included the schools in Nagyenyed, Kolozsvár, and Gyulafehérvár, as well as—by the end of the 17th century—Hermannstadt. Cf. George Călinescu, *Istoria literaturii române* [The History of Romanian Literature], vol. 1 (Bucharest, 1970), 323; on this section, see Zach, *Orthodoxe Kirche*, 176. On school policy under György I Rákóczi see András Magyari, "I. Rákóczi György művelődéspolitikájának néhány erdélyi vonatkozása [On Several Transylvanian Aspects of György I Rákóczi's Cultural Policy]," in Violeta Barbu and Kinga S. Tüdős (eds.), *Historia manet. Volum omagial Demény Lajos* [Festschrift for Lajos Demény] (Bucharest, 2001), 161–166.

[3] Moisescu, *Istoria bisericii române*, vol. 2, 86f.

The Făgăraș castle (16th–17th ct.) (Detail of an engraving by Knopfmacher, after a drawing by L. Rohbock. Courtesy of the Siebenbürgisches Museum Gundelsheim)

In addition to the school in Făgăraș, the prince also sponsored Romanian educational institutions in Lugoj, Caransebeș, and Kronstadt.[4] Educational and religious policies went hand in hand; in one decree Rákóczi prohibited the use of Church Slavonic in the worship service and stipulated the use of Romanian. In the 1640s a printing house was established to publish Romanian books (in the Cyrillic alphabet) with religious content, including a Romanian translation of the New Testament. Simion Ștefan, a Lugoj priest, Bible translator and later Gyulafehérvár bishop, played an important role in all this. Linking the Reformation with the Romanian vernacular occasioned complex developments: Calvinism gained sympathizers, if not full-fledged adherents, and, although many clergymen rejected the use of the vernacular in the worship service, over the long run the linguistic and religious policies of the Transylvanian princes constituted one of the preconditions for the eventual establishment of Romanian in the ecclesiastical sphere.[5]

[4] Nicolae Albu, *Istoria învățământului românesc din Transilvania până la 1800* [History of Romanian Education in Transylvania up to 1800] (Blaj, 1944), 63–64; *Magyar Protestáns Egyháztörténeti Adattár* [Hungarian Protestant Archive for Church History] 8, (Budapest, 1910), 112–116; Marianne Székely, *A protestáns erdélyi fejedelmek hatása a román kultúra fejlődésére* [The Influence of the Protestant Transylvanian Princes on the Development of Romanian Culture] (Debrecen, 1935), 12–18. Cf. Magyari, "I. Rákóczi György," 162f.

[5] See also Imre Révész, *A reformáció az erdélyi oláhok között* [The Reformation among the Transylvanian Romanians] (Debrecen, 1938), 24.

Ghenadie II and Ilie Iorest

Ghenadie II had assumed leadership of the Orthodox Church in Transylvania in the autumn of 1627. He showed little interest in yielding to the urgings of the political authority to establish Calvinism among the ranks of the Orthodox Romanian faithful. In fact, Gábor Bethlen's attempts to win the patriarch Kyrill Lukaris over to the idea of Calvinizing the Transylvanian Romanians have been interpreted by church historians as proof of Ghenadie's uncooperative attitude.[6] Rákóczi's religious policy with respect to the Romanians proceeded along the same lines as that of his predecessors. On the one hand, he made occasional concessions (for example the renewal of the tax exemption for the priests of Făgăraș on 9 April 1638), on the other hand, he insisted emphatically on compliance with the so-called five points and on unconditional subordination of the Orthodox clergy to the Reformed superintendent. Ghenadie apparently navigated shrewdly through these obstacles, since he remained on the metropolitan's seat until his death on 3 September 1640, and this despite repeated criticism from the leaders of the Reformed Church that, regarding the five points, he "adhered to some of them, but not to others."[7] The contacts between the Orthodox Church leaders in Transylvania and in Wallachia remained close during this period. In the spring of 1640, the Hungro-Wallachian metropolitan Teofil visited Gyulafehérvár, and on this occasion met also with his Transylvanian colleague Ghenadie. The immediate results of the meeting were the publication (in the monastery at Wallachian Govora) of an edition of the Orthodox, canonical-juridical work, Pravila de la Govora, and the founding of a printing house in Gyulafehérvár.

Three candidates stood ready to succeed Ghenadie: Meletie Macedoneanul from Wallachia (Govora); a cleric from the Haţeg region; and Ilie Iorest. Meletie, who was favored by the Reformed superintendent Katona Geleji, and who seemed—at least on the surface—willing to respect the now 24 conditions stipulated by the Reformed side, was not elected. The choice fell rather on the candidate from Moldavia, Ilie Iorest, who had been nominated on the recommendation of Rákóczi's political ally of the time, the Moldavian prince Vasile Lupu. Rákóczi (acting primarily out of political considerations) confirmed the native-

[6] Cf. to this paragraph Păcurariu, *Istoria bisericii ortodoxe române*, vol. 2, 64f.
[7] Ibid., 65.

born Transylvanian as metropolitan, who had spent most of his life as a monk in a northern Moldavian monastery (Putna). The list of conditions presented to Iorest had been reduced to four. Anointed in November 1640 at Tîrgovişte, the metropolitan maintained intensive contact with Moldavia during his relatively short tenure (just over two years) and conducted visitations in the Orthodox parishes of Transylvania.

Iorest's relationship to the Reformed Church and to Rákóczi was poor from the start and deteriorated rapidly from there, especially since he—like his predecessor—thought little of the conditions he had signed, though the prince wanted to have them enforced by threat of sanctions.[8] The Reformed church leaders (especially István Geleji Katona and the prince's court clergyman, György Csulai, who would later succeed Katona as superintendent) realized that only by installing a metropolitan who was open to Calvinism would they have a chance of influencing the Orthodox population. Therefore, Iorest would have to go: On 18 February 1642 a complaint was entered against him in the Transylvanian Diet, stating that he had been ordaining Romanian serfs as priests, thus depriving the landowners of labourers. His dismissive attitude toward the Catehism calvinesc (the Romanian-language Calvinist catechism, published 1642 in Prisaca) and the deterioration of relations between the princes of Transylvania and Moldavia contributed significantly to his removal from the seat (and subsequent imprisonment) in early 1643.[9]

[8] Rákóczi read the five points to the synod of Orthodox protopopes who were assembled to elect Ghenadie's successor. The prince threatened punishment if the conditions were not observed. Cf. Moisescu, *Istoria bisericii române*, vol. 2, 88–89.

[9] Ilie Iorest spent nine months in prison and finally returned to Putna in Moldavia after 24 prominent believers vouched for him. From there he undertook a journey to Moscow in the summer of 1645, carrying letters of introduction from the leading hierarchs of Moldavia. He also brought the Czar pieces of the relics of St. Dumitru, and received in return gifts of money, from which he paid 1000 talers to the Transylvanian treasury, the sum that was demanded for freeing him from prison. In 1678 Iorest died an old man in the monastery at Putna. The letters of introduction given him for his journey to Russia by the Moldavian bishops (the metropolitan Varlaam and his suffragan bishops: Anastasie of Roman, Ştefan of Rădăuţi, and Ghedeon of Huşi) clearly show that, in the view of these Orthodox church leaders, enormous pressure was being exerted on the Orthodox believers in Transylvania to convert to Calvinism. "And they took everything from him, and they bound him and locked him nine months in jail; he had to endure persecutions and a great number of other Christian [Orthodox] priests with him, and for no other reason than the Christian [Orthodox] faith, because they wanted to convert them to Calvinism." See ibid., 67–69.

Expansion of the Five Points to Fifteen Conditions: The Tenure of Simion Ștefan

Soon after Iorest's removal the Gyulafehérvár monk Ștefan was elected metropolitan by a synod of protopopes in 1643. In autumn of the same year the conditions—now increased to fifteen—were attached to the document of confirmation that was presented to him for signature. The intended effects on Orthodox church life went deeper now and included considerable encroachments on liturgical matters. In addition to the rules on Romanian-language worship service and the emphasis on the Calvinist catechism in the guidance of young people, the new catalogue contained directions for the rituals of baptism and burial (simplified, Calvinist-style procedures) and for communion (using unconsecrated bread and wine). Moreover, the catalogue prohibited the adoration of the saints and the holy cross. Orthodox believers were explicitly allowed to convert to Calvinism without fear of sanctions from the Orthodox Church (point 10). At the same time, it was a punishable offense for an Orthodox priest to preach before a Hungarian audience (point 14).[10]

The same document of confirmation listed the geographic areas that would be under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan (who was subordinate to the Calvinist superintendent). The jurisdiction included the counties Gyulafehérvár, Kraszna, Middle-Szolnok, Dobóka, Kolozsvár, Torda, and Küküllővár, as well as the districts Kővár, Burzenland, and Bistritz, and the Szekler and Transylvanian-Saxon seats. However, no jurisdiction was granted to the head of the Orthodox Church over regions that were considered by the prince and the Calvinist church leadership to be (at least in part) Calvinist, though they were also inhabited by Romanians: Broos (Orăștie), Hațeg, Hunedoara, Ilia, the Körös (Criș) area, and three archdiaconates in the Făgăraș region. These areas were under the direct jurisdiction of the Calvinist superintendent Geleji.[11] Moreover, Rákóczi decreed in 1647 that all Orthodox parishes

[10] Cf. Moisescu, *Istoria bisericii române*, 30; Păcurariu, *Istoria bisericii ortodoxe române*, 69; Zach, *Orthodoxe Kirche*, 175.

[11] Later that spring, in view of protests from several parishes in the named regions, Geleji had written a letter in which he counseled against completely barring the metropolitan from these areas. He suggested granting Simion Ștefan a right of visitation there, too, but always in the company of priests who were true to Calvinist principles (mentioned by name were Gheorghe of Secul, co-translator of the Calvinist catechism, and Mihail Molodeț, the future bishop of Maramureș). In: Păcurariu, *Istoria bisericii ortodoxe române*, 68.

in the Făgăraș territories were under the archpriest (protopope) Ștefan of Berivoi, who in turn reported directly to the prince. Obviously, an attempt was made this time, too, to render the Calvinizing measures more effective by segmenting the organization of the Orthodox Church. Not until 1659, under the rule of Acațiu Barcsai, would these areas come under the jurisdiction of then metropolitan Sava Brancovici, who succeeded Simion Ștefan in 1656.[12]

Romanian Reformed Communities in Transylvania and the Romanian-Language Church Literature Around the Middle of the 17th Century

The efforts to lead Orthodox priests and believers toward Protestantism, repeatedly renewed and intensified since the second half of the 16th century, did not achieve the hoped-for breakthrough, but neither were they completely without effect. At the midpoint of the 17th century there were indeed Calvinist Romanian communities in Transylvania—especially in the areas listed as partly Calvinist in the document of confirmation described above. They were the result of a persistent, multi-track missionary strategy of the Reformed church leaders, in cooperation with the country's Calvinist princes.[13] In addition to the coercive measures already described, a panoply of educational and cultural offers supported the establishment and consolidation of these communities. This included the founding of schools, but also the production of a large number of religious books in the Romanian language: translations of the Bible and the Psalms, and catechisms. Between 1648 and 1656 the princely printing house in Gyulafehérvár included a Romanian department, in which Romanian-language books were printed using Cyrillic letters. The publishing program was determined by the Calvinist superintendent and other leading Calvinist clergymen in consultation with the Orthodox metropolitan.[14] The first Romanian-language Calvinist catechism based on the Heidelberg model, published

[12] Ibid., 69–70.

[13] Cf. to this section Maria Crăciun, "Building a Romanian Reformed Community in Seventeenth-Century Transylvania," in Crăciun, *Confessional Identity in East-Central Europe*, 99–120, here 104f.

[14] Eva Mârza, *Din istoria tiparului românesc. Tipografia de la Alba Iulia, 1577–1702* [From the History of Romanian Printing: The Printing House in Gyulafehérvár, 1577–1702] (Sibiu, 1998), 56–64.

in 1642,[15] was followed by two more in 1648 and 1656.[16] Also during this time a translation of the New Testament (1648) and a psalter (1651) were printed in Gyulafehérvár. These and other texts were not intended only for priests, but were aimed at a broader audience, indeed at some of the already existing Reformed Romanian communities.

In the absence of letters, diaries, or other explicit testimony, the reasons that motivated Orthodox Romanians to convert to Calvinism and their experiences in the process are not directly accessible. The directions in which Protestantism spread among Orthodox believers is also a matter of hypothesis: Romanians are thought to have converted to Calvinism primarily in urban, ethnically mixed settlement areas, such as Hunedoara, Haţeg, Lugoj, and Caransebeş,[17] but there were also considerable numbers of Romanian Calvinist clergy serving in the villages of eastern Hungary and western Transylvania, for example in Bihar county.[18] At the same time, it is known that even under Calvinist Romanian nobles the inhabitants of most villages in the region of Haţeg remained Orthodox. On the other hand, Protestant communities of varying sizes have been documented in many of the Transylvanian Romanian villages in most of the regions that have been named. In these regions Orthodox and Calvinist congregations often shared church

[15] Most likely a work by the priest Gheorghe of Secul (from southwestern Transylvania), under the supervision of the Calvinist court preacher Csulai. The project was initiated by István Geleji Katona and supported by György I Rákóczi (see ibid., 31f.); see also Ioan Lupaş, *Documente istorice Transilvane, 1599–1699* [Historical Documents from Transylvania, 1599–1699] (Cluj, 1940), 204–205.

[16] The catechism of 1648 was printed by the Calvinist clergyman István Fogarasi of Lugoj and dedicated to Acaţiu/Ákos Barcsai, a magyarized Romanian nobleman from Vajdahunyad/Hunedoara, who would later be prince and who apparently had paid the printing costs. See Lajos Tamás (ed.), *Fogarasi István kátéja. Fejezet a Bánsági és Hunyad megyei románság művelődéstörténetéből* [The Catechism of István Fogarasi. A Chapter from the Cultural History of the Banat and Hunyad Romanians] (Kolozsvár, 1942); Gheorghe Barițiu (ed.), *Catehismul calvinesc impus clerului și poporului românesc sub domnia principilor Georgio Rakoczy I și II* [The Catechism Imposed on the Romanian Clergy and the Romanian People under the Rule of the Princes György I and II Rákóczi] (Sibiu, 1879). The book of 1656 was a response to the reaction of the Moldavian metropolitan Varlaam to the 1642 Catechism (*Răspuns împotriva Catihismusului calvinesc* [A Rebuttal of the Calvinist Catechism], printed in Iași or in Dealu, 1645).

[17] See Ion Gheție, "Factori interni și factori externi în problema începuturilor scrisului în limba română [Internal and External Factors in the Question of the Beginnings of the Romanian Written Language]," *Limba Română* 19 (1980), 123–126. Cf. Crăciun, "Building a Romanian Reformed Community," 108f.

[18] Zenovie Pâclișanu, "Câteva date despre preoții româno-calvini [Data Concerning the Romanian Calvinist Preachers]," *Cultura Creștină* 1 (1911), 68.

buildings, an arrangement which is not surprising in the context of 17th-century Transylvania.[19]

Whether or not the practice of Orthodox rituals experienced a profound alteration, the conditions that were presented by the Calvinist church leadership to the Orthodox metropolitans illustrate the central differences between the two belief systems in terms of liturgy, ritual, and individual beliefs and practices. Regarding the latter, the efforts at Calvinization aimed at more active participation by the congregation in the worship service (for example through singing), and the children were encouraged to read the catechisms. Regular church attendance and the observance of certain rules of behavior in church were some of the other goals of the Calvinist leaders, as well as the establishment of basic dogmatic conceptions, for example the obtainment of salvation through faith in Jesus only, whereby the role of the saints as intermediaries and the efficacy of good deeds and works were to be minimized. The adoption of the Calvinist interpretation of the communion was just as prominently in the foreground as the abolition of the many feasts in the Orthodox liturgical year. To all this new rules were added regarding the rituals of baptism, marriage, and burial.[20]

As can be seen from the instructions for church visitations in the Făgăraș region in the 1650s, it took a long time to implement the measures, especially with respect to the priests, but also with respect to church discipline and social discipline in general. It was to be ascertained for each priest whether he held service in the Romanian language and whether he was proficient in the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments. The priests were expected to be able to read and write Romanian, and those who were familiar with the contents of the catechism were commended. Inspectors also paid particular attention to the moral behavior of the clergymen and emphasized their function as examples for their communities. The most common infractions found during these visitations were excessive drinking, acts of violence, and

[19] For a more recent treatment of the subject with respect to Hațeg, see Aurel A. Rusu, *Ctitori și biserici din Țara Hațegului până la 1700* [Churches and Church Builders in the Hațeger Land up to 1700] (Satu Mare, 1997).

[20] There was no exchange of ideas on dogma and content; the dogmatic differences between the two faiths were obviously much too significant. The Calvinist documents frequently use expressions like 'ignorance,' 'superstition,' and 'idolatry' to describe Orthodox religious practices. Cf. Crăciun, "Building a Romanian Reformed Community," 110.

dereliction of the Sunday worship service. In one case the priest of the village Ludişor was accused of living with his wife before they were married. The resulting sanction shows that Calvinist discipline, too, was applied in the region; the pair was compelled to apologize before the assembled community. Such pressure through social disciplining appears however to have been more the exception than the rule in the Calvinist Romanian communities of Transylvania, being occasioned in this case by the special jurisdictional situation of the Făgăraş church organization. In the Haţeg area, for example, there were no sanctions on priests or laymen who persisted in Orthodox practices.[21]

The Sabbatarians and the Complanatio of Dés

Like his adoptive father (András Eőssi) before him, Péchi was confined for several years (beginning in 1624) to his property in the small Szekler village of Szenterzsébet. He kept aloof from political activity, remaining in his inner emigration until Bethlen's death, nor did he keep close contact during this time with the Sabbatarian groups active in the country. One of his most important literary projects during the next four years was an annotated translation of the Psalms. In his very detailed commentary[22] Péchi intensively engaged the Psalms commentaries of the medieval Jewish exegete David Kimhi as well as Sebastian Münster's *Biblia Hebraica* and Flavius Josephus's *Antiquitates Judaeorum* and *De Bello Judaico*.

Péchi finally became outwardly active again in 1629. He undertook a vigorous endeavor—with some success—to reacquire the rights and properties that Bethlen had confiscated. He also made his teachings available to a broader, Antitrinitarian-Sabbatarian public and apparently found an audience for them, thus helping to reinvigorate the entire Sabbatarian movement.

Bethlen's successor, György I Rákóczi, was confronted from the start of his rule with complaints directed by Calvinist dignitaries against the

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[21] Ibid., 111–112; Rusu, *Ctitori şi biserici din Tara Haţegului*, 141f.

[22] The only surviving manuscript bears the following title on its cover sheet: *Psalterium cum explicationibus vocum non cuilibet obviarum ex hebraica veritate hungarice translatum per magnificum D. Simonem Pechium*. The work was printed in 1913: Szilády Áron (ed.), *Péchi Simon Psalteriuma* [Simon Péchi's Psalter] (Budapest, 1913). Cf. Dán, *Az erdélyi szombatosok*, 205–227.

Sabbatarians. One written complaint in early summer 1631 said the movement "infested" the seat of Udvarhely "like an ulcer." It named Péchi as one of the most important propagators of the teaching and petitioned the prince to put a stop to the further spread of the "baneful sect."[23] Rákóczi reacted with restraint. The prince had only just been (provisionally) confirmed in office by the Sublime Porte and he avoided bringing charges against the ex-chancellor (who was still highly thought of in Constantinople), or taking concrete measures against the Sabbatarian movement, which was becoming stronger in some regions of Transylvania (in addition to the seat of Udvarhely also in the seat of Maros and in Kolozsvár). Earlier anti-Sabbatarian decrees (most recently from 1622) were still in force, but they had little influence on the open dissemination of the teachings.

In the early 1630s Péchi wrote numerous other works that recorded and further developed the movement's teachings and described the ritual framework for the Sabbatarian way of life.[24] His writings from this time include Sabbatarian songs, translations of Talmudic tractates and of excerpts from various midrashim, as well as a series of exegetical and ritual texts. For Sabbatarianism, the most seminal of these works is a book of prayers and rituals, which took almost a decade to write (c. 1629–c. 1638).[25] At the same time Péchi worked on an annotated translation of the Old Testament. His oeuvre offered a fertile ground for the creation of numerous other Sabbatarian texts in the environment of the literary workshops in Szenterzsébet and Balázsfalva, whose authors have remained largely unknown to the present day.

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[23] *Keresztény Magvető* 17 (1882), 107: "We hear and see with pain in our hearts […] the recent spread of the Sabbatarian sect, which like an ulcer ("fene módjára") infests the entire seat of Udvarhely. Its most important propagator and promoter (*fautor*) is Mr. Simon Péchi, and this despite several decrees of the Diet. Furthermore, not only does he spread [the teachings of] this baneful sect, but he has others doing it as well. And what is worse, he founded a school in his hometown of Szenterzsébet where he is having many young people instructed." The text goes on to assert that some men have even had themselves circumcised and died from it; that Péchi's followers have celebrated Pentecost on Friday and Saturday, etc. The text concludes with the fear that an uncontrollable spread of the "dangerous aberrations" is imminent.

[24] In addition to Péchi, the leading propagators of the Sabbatarian ideology included Tamás Borsos (in Marosvásárhely), János Vásárhelyi Szabó, István Gáspár, János Kálai, and Katalin Beke (in Kolozsvár). See Dán, *Az erdélyi szombatosok*, 226.

[25] On the contents of this book see Kohn, *Die Sabbatharier*, 179–187; for a detailed discussion of Péchi's source texts and his further translations from Hebrew, see Dán, *Az erdélyi szombatosok*, 229–262.

György I Rákóczi (Engraving by J. Meyssens. Courtesy of the Siebenbürgen-Institut Gundelsheim)

A rationale for the state to move against the Sabbatarians was finally provided by the actions of the pretender to the throne, Mózes Székely (son of the Transylvanian prince of the same name who had died on the battlefield in 1603), who had left the country in 1632 by way of Temesvár to Constantinople. Returning with Ottoman backing and the support of eminent Transylvanian Sabbatarians, Székely tried to depose Rákóczi.[26] The contacts of the exiled Székely (himself most likely a Sabbatarian) with the Transylvanian "Judaizers," whose political strength was growing also, made the latter look like an oppositional group that posed a danger to the state, and Rákóczi deemed it necessary to annihilate them. In 1635 at the Diet of Gyulafehérvár, prompted by

[26] The family bonds tying Péchi to Mózes Székely (Székely's mother was a sister of Péchi's first wife) and to another apostate (Ferenc Petki, also a nephew of Péchi) strengthened Rákóczi's suspicion that Péchi was involved in the planned coup. In contrast to the radical political wing of the Sabbatarians, however, the group around Péchi (apparently under strong political pressure) remained loyal to the prince. Their names were among the signers of a letter to the Porte in 1633 that petitioned for support of Rákóczi.

the prince, the estates adopted a new decree against the Sabbatarians[27] in the form of an ultimatum: All those Sabbatarians who had not converted to one of the recognized *religiones* by the end of the next year, would be brought up on charges. Then, in the summer of 1636, another claim to the throne was made, this time by Gábor Bethlen's brother, István. Rákóczi was able to defeat Bethlen, who had backing from the Sublime Porte, without setting off a larger war. This was in no small part thanks to decisive assistance from Péchi, who was able to convince the Ottoman leaders that the prince was loyal to them. The peace treaties sealed at the end of the same year bear Péchi's signature.[28] And yet, when the following year Mózes Székely again seemed to be mounting a threat, Rákóczi thought the time had come to act.[29]

The Diet that was called in Gyulafehérvár in 1638 began with deliberations on another charge of innovation:[30] After losing out to the Hungarian Dániel Beke in an attempt to become superintendent, the pastor of the Transylvanian-Saxon Unitarian community in Kolozsvár, Matthias Ravius, had accused his rival of not following the articles of the Unitarian faith. Rákóczi called upon Beke to prepare a document containing the Unitarian confession of faith for presentation at the Diet at Gyulafehérvár. The priority of this matter with respect to the Sabbatarian issue was obvious: Since the Sabbatarians represented themselves to the outside world as Unitarians, the formulation of a Unitarian creed in the run-up to the legal proceedings against them would be a good opportunity to show their deviation from the recognized teachings. There had already been a Diet at which the principles of the Unitarian faith were presented and accepted but, surprisingly, no one in Gyulafehérvár paid any attention to that. Instead, a large com-

[27] Szilágyi, *Monumenta Comitialia*, vol. 9, 415.

[28] Dán, *Az erdélyi szombatosok és Péchi Simon*, 294.

[29] Ibid., 301. Samuel Kohn offers several possible causes for the concerted persecution of the Sabbatarians in 1638, each of which—considered by itself—would represent sufficient motivation for Rákóczi's actions: The Sabbatarians' profession of a faith repeatedly banned by the highest legislative body in the land made them punishable; Rákóczi wanted once and for all to eliminate the danger posed by Székely and his allies in Transylvania; the prince was motivated (not for the first time) by avarice. Indeed, he was able to increase his wealth substantially after the Sabbatarian trials resulted in the confiscation of significant properties, which as a rule he seized for himself. Cf. Kohn, *Die Sabbatharier*, 205f.

[30] The following section is based on Sándor Szilágyi, "A deési complanatio s a szombatosok kiirtása [The *Complanatio* of Dés and the Eradication of the Sabbatarians]," *Magyar Polgár* 171/172, 1884, 23–48; cf. András Kovács, *Az erdélyi szombatosság nyomában* [Tracing Transylvanian Sabbatarianism] (Csíkszereda, 1999), 100–111.

mission was formed by drawing from the ranks of all the recognized religious communities. Starting with a convention (*conventus*) in Dés on July 1, the commission was to hear both sides (Ravius and Beke) of the matter and make a decision.[31] Elucidation of the two parties' standpoints lasted several days and resulted in a *complanatio*, which summarized the essential points of the creed of 1579 and instructed the two parties to become reconciled with each other. This reconciliation was not to include the "Judaizers" and "blasphemers." It was suggested to superintendent Beke that he call a synod, have the reconciliation announced in the churches, and make arrangements for the production of a catechism. With this done, the commission turned its attention to the Sabbatarians.

All those were charged whose alleged mode of life (celebrating the Sabbath on Saturday, eating unleavened bread at Easter, not baptizing their children) showed them to be Sabbatarians, and who had not converted despite the ultimatum. Hundreds of farmers were condemned to lose their land and their lives, and were hauled off in lots of 100 to various prisons. The majority of them were released and all of the condemned were later pardoned (with one exception),[32] but their confiscated property was not returned to them. The nobles who were charged suffered much the same fate. The elderly Péchi was prevented by ill health from appearing in Dés. He was convicted *in absentia* based on the testimony of 33 witnesses[33] and arrested some days later.

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[31] The same commission was intended to deal with the Sabbatarian issue as well. Those who had not converted to the *religiones receptae* by the deadline (Christmas 1636) were summoned to Dés, where their cases would be judged.

[32] János Thorockai, a goldsmith from Kolozsvár, was condemned to death for blasphemy. "The unmindful man blasphemed against Christ: were he [Jesus] to come onto earth, he would send him to work in the vineyard. Following biblical rules, he was stoned to death by five Gypsies in Dés. […] They also condemned a councilman from Kolozsvár by the name of Csipar, because of blasphemy, to 60 blows with the cane below the gallows." In: Szilágyi, "A deési complanatio," 45, quoted in Kovács, *Az erdélyi szombatosság nyomában*, 110.

[33] The testimony against Péchi reveals how his everyday life was shaped by religious considerations, both in his home and in his community: "He refashioned his manor property at Szent-Erzsébet into a completely Jewish household. On the Sabbath, which he himself strictly observed, he had his servants rest also. He celebrated the Jewish feast days exactly according to the rules, Passover with the customary unleavened bread. Animals that are deemed unclean in the Bible were not to be brought into his kitchen, and his table was ruled by Mosaic dietary laws. He required all these Jewish religious observances of the people who lived with him as well. In order to raise his children in the Sabbatarian spirit—probably also for leading the Sabbatarian worship service—he kept a house preacher in his manor in the fashion of nobles' castles at that time, and

He spent eight months in Szamosújvár before he, too, converted to Calvinism. He withdrew to Szenterzsébet, where he lived in seclusion until his death in 1643.

The Reformed Church: Theological Training in the Netherlands, Connections to England

From the 1620s on, the Netherlands became a more and more popular place for Hungarian-speaking Reformed clergymen to receive their training.[34] In Leiden, Franeker, Utrecht, Groningen, and Harderwijk, Hungarian and Transylvanian students were lastingly influenced by eminent western Calvinist thinkers. In Franeker, for example, William Ames, exiled from England (Cambridge) since 1622, espoused a practical theology and decentralized church administration. Transylvanian theology students were especially welcome in the Netherlands at that time, where academic teachers appreciated the young men's experience in confronting Antitrinitarianism on a practical, everyday basis. These teachers saw it as their duty to arm the future Calvinist clergymen among their Transylvanian students for the polemical battles with the Antitrinitarian foe they would face on returning to their homeland. In 1640 Johannes Polyander of Leiden published a collection of anti-Socinian theological disputations, several of which had been written by Hungarian-speaking students. The texts mainly attacked Antitrinitarian authors and discussed Calvinist soteriology in detail. Polyander dedicated the volume to György I Rákóczi and expressed the hope that the development of the Transylvanian Reformed Church

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employed as such Michael Szentmiklósi, a theologically trained, devoted Sabbatarian, which leads to the supposition that he had built a Sabbatarian prayer hall on the grounds of his manor, somewhat like a castle chapel. As in his home, so did he act in the village where he lived, Szent-Erzsébet […]. He removed the Unitarian clergyman and the Unitarian schoolmaster of the village, and replaced them with Sabbatarians, which was all the easier for him to do, since most of the Unitarians there were such in name only, and in fact Sabbatarians. At one end of the village, in a house "built of stone"—that is, a better house, he set up a synagogue, in which he had a service offered every Sabbath with readings from the appropriate sections of the Pentateuch. What is more, he built a school there as well where, in order to make it a genuine (of course, Sabbatarian) mission school, he made sure that all who came, regardless what religion they belonged to, were instructed alike." In: Kohn, *Die Sabbatharier in Siebenbürgen*, 175–176, summarized from eyewitness accounts published in Szilágyi, *Monumenta Comitialia*, vol. 10, 185–189.

[34] On this paragraph, see Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier*, 58–64.

would continue in a positive direction under this prince. He further emphasized the valuable contribution of the Transylvanian students who—as he wrote—had come to the Netherlands to defend Reformed orthodoxy and to share their knowledge of the Antitrinitarians with the Dutch Calvinists.[35]

Transylvanian Calvinists also traveled to England in the 1630s and made connections there that contributed to international Calvinist networks. Publications from this time reflect the close contacts these travelers made with English clerics: John Stoughton, pastor of St. Mary's parish in Aldermanbury, was moved by a series of encounters with Hungarian students to write a work in 1638 in which he praised György I Rákóczi for his school reform and support of the Calvinists. Stoughton also characterized Transylvania as an important bastion of Calvinism in the international struggle against Rome.[36]

The Reformed Church under Geleji Katona (1633–1649)

During the reign of György I Rákóczi, Transylvania's Reformed Church had in István Geleji Katona a superintendent with early and direct experience of the tumultuous times.[37] At the tender age of seven Katona

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[35] Johannes Polyander, *Prima concertatio anti-Sociniana disputationibus XLVIII in Acad. Leydensis*, (Amsterdam, 1640); István Monok, "Johannes Polyander magyar kapcsolataihoz [Regarding the Hungarian Connections of Johannes Polyander]," in Herner, *Tudóslevelek*, 89–115. On the anti-Antitrinitarian measures in the Netherlands in the first half of the 17th century, see Earl Morse Wilbur, *A History of Unitarianism. Socinianism and Its Antecedents* (Cambridge/Mass., 1946), especially 553f.

[36] Stoughton's work, conceived as a letter and addressed to Rákóczi's later house chaplain, who was staying in London at the time, was not published until two years later and was dedicated to Rákóczi: John Stoughton, *Felicitas ultimi saeculi* (London, 1640). Cf. Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier*, 66.

[37] The secondary literature on Geleji Katona is relatively sparse. The more detailed works include Károly Brassay, "Geleji Katona István élete és munkái [Life and Work of István Geleji Katona]," in *A hajdúnánási ev. ref. gimnázium értesitője* [Information Leaflet of the Reformed Gymnasium Hajdúnánás] 1901/02, 3–46 and 1902/03, 3–44; Lajos Gál, "Geleji Katona István igehirdetése [István Geleji Katona's Sermons]," *Theológiai Szemle* 1939, 3–34, 51–178, 187–218; Géza Nagy, "Geleji Katona István személyisége levelei alapján [István Geleji Katona's Personality Based on His Letters]," *Erdélyi Múzeum* 1940, 35–48. See also Márton Tarnóc, *Erdély művelődése Bethlen Gábor és a két Rákóczi György korában* [Transylvania's Culture in the Time of Gábor Bethlen and the Two György Rákóczis] (Budapest, 1978), 69–94. Cf. to this section János Heltai, "Geleji Katona István mint udvari prédikátor [István Geleji Katona as court preacher]," in András Szabó (ed.), *Mezőváros, reformáció és irodalom (16.–18. század)* [Market Town, Reformation and Literature (16th–18th Century)] (Budapest, 2005), 149–163, here 153f.; Zoltán Gálfy, "Geleji Katona István," in *Erdélyi Panteon.*

was carried off by Turkish troops after they destroyed his home village of Gelej in Heves county. A month later he was bought back by his mother at the slave market in Szolnok. Thereafter his life proceeded along a smoother path. After rigorous schooling he went to Heidelberg in 1615 to study. Returned home, Katona was entrusted with the leadership of the Gyulafehérvár school, but then in 1619 Bethlen asked him to accompany his nephew to Heidelberg, thus allowing Katona to spend another year in the town where he had studied. After having been employed as campaign clergyman by the prince, István Katona became court chaplain and deacon of the Gyulafehérvár diocese. In 1633—now under György I Rákóczi—the Reformed Church synod elected him to succeed the deceased János Keserűi Dajka as superintendent, an office he would occupy until his death in December 1649.

As Calvinist superintendent, Katona's contribution to improving the Reformed Church's organizational structures can hardly be overestimated. He was a vigorous and tireless church organizer and his effectiveness has been acknowledged in church historiography. He improved church discipline, stabilized financial affairs, and dedicated himself to education and the establishment of printing presses. The church's close collaboration with the princely power continued during Katona's tenure, albeit without the Calvinists' acquiring a legal basis for their privileged position. On the other hand, Katona has been criticized for having often represented an excessively rigid, orthodox Calvinist position, both outwardly (vis-à-vis the Orthodox, Unitarians, and Sabbatarians) and inwardly (vis-à-vis the presbyterian and puritanical tendencies within his church): His critics accused him of hindering the democratization of the church and of preventing the development of a freer, livelier church life that would have been more suitable to the spirit of Calvinism.[38] One of his more unpopular measures (especially among the clergy), was the imposition of the *dislocatio*, according to which Reformed preachers could be officially transferred.

Katona's literary legacy of 8000 pages makes him one of the most productive religious writers of his time: five monumental volumes of sermons (in their appearance worthy examples of the Protestant Baroque), two of them in Latin,[39] three in Hungarian; an equally handsome

Művelődéstörténeti vázlatok [Transylvanian Pantheon. Sketches in Cultural History] (Marosvásárhely, 1998), 112–118.

[38] János Heltai, "Geleji Katona István mint udvari prédikátor," 154.

[39] *Praeconium evangelicum, in quo evangelia omnia anniversaria, vulgo Dominicalia vocitata concionibus CCXII. […] explicantus* (Alba Iulia, 1638). (The preface to this

exegetical work with a linguistic appendix; an extensive collection of church songs. In 1645 he published a book, titled Titkok titka (Secret of Secrets), that took as its starting point a vehement theological dispute he had had four years earlier with the Unitarian superintendent Pál Csanádi. Katona reworked the material into a systematic exegetical dissertation, in which he delved into the soteriological implications of the doctrine of the Trinity. The text included resonances of the persecution of the Antitrinitarians and Sabbatarians from the year 1638 as well. Katona's three-volume collection of Hungarian sermons, printed in Nagyvárad between 1645 and 1649, contained a number of chapters on the elucidation of the confession of faith, but also sharp polemics against "pagan" customs, "superstition," and conjurations, and eloquent pleas against fasting, pilgrimages, and the adoration of relics. Thus Katona's life and work reflected not only the tumultuousness but also the denominational differentiation that characterized his time.

In 1646 he crowned his literary production with a compilation of church canons, some of which remain in effect to this day. The starting point here was the synod held at Szatmár in June of that year, at which (thanks in no small part to the influence of György I Rákóczi, who was in attendance) the puritanical-presbyterian faction surrounding János Tolnai Dali suffered a defeat. Point 3 of the synod's decrees stipulated the introduction of binding church guidelines and the drafting of a liturgy for the Reformed worship service. Seeing the latter need as having been met by the work of István Milotai Nyilas, Geleji Katona set about composing a church order, which he completed by the end of the year. He drew on a number of sources: decrees of past synods, the *Articuli Maiores* of Péter Melius, the compilations of the superintendent Mihály Tasnádi Ruber, Zipper's works on church law, and the liturgies of the Dutch Calvinists. Article 99 of Katona's church order, titled "Of the Elders," fueled a controversy that lasted the entire second half of the 17th century: While a circle of laymen and clerics around preacher Pál Medgyesi supported the comprehensive introduction of lay presbyteries (councils of elders), they faced determined opposition by princely counselors, whose caution might have been motivated by the developments in England (Cromwell). Geleji Katona attempted to bridge these influential and contradicting points of view by deciding

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volume contains an autobiography with details on Katona's childhood); *Praeconii evangelici tomus secundus seu pars aestivalis et autumnalis, continens […] pericoparum […] in conciones XCIII. digestam enarrationem* (Alba Iulia, 1640).

that, under the given conditions, the establishment of presbyterial bodies was not possible, even if he considered them "necessary and useful." He went on to say that the preachers can and should call on "some honest and sensible men from the citizenry" for support "in settling disputes and exercising discipline." This stopgap solution clearly expresses Katona's dilemma; presbyteries are necessary, but not (yet) possible. It would take another quarter century before they could be set up across the whole country.[40]

Geleji Katona's church order was ratified at the synod in Marosvásárhely on 12 July 1649, with the assent of György II Rákóczi. Of the text's 100 articles, 85 concern the personal attributes of the Calvinist clergyman: He should be at least moderately educated, it says, and be especially well versed in the holy scriptures and principles of the faith (article 4). If he has not acquired a comprehensive library and made no progress in the (acquisition and propagation of the) doctrine, he is to be relieved of his office after two warnings (article 6). The sermon is to be in the mother tongue, "polished and literary, but not too stilted; simple and easy to understand, not pretentious, but intended for the edification of the listeners" (article 42). Articles 78–85 address the clergymen's private life: They should not have outside employment; commerce, moneylending, hunting and the selling of wine are particularly disallowed, as are gluttony and foul language. Of particular interest are the articles on instruction. Here there is concern for the basic education of girls: "They must be taught to read and—if the parents wish it—to write also."[41] Geleji Katona, who during his tenure called himself *orthodoxus Transylvaniae episcopus ac ecclesiae Albensis antistes*,[42] survived the introduction of the *Canones* by five months. The unmarried superintendent died in December 1649, leaving all his possessions to his church.

Under Princely Protection: A Reformed Community in Unitarian Kolozsvár

Church historians mark the actual beginning of the Reformed Church's institutional history in predominantly Antitrinitarian Kolozsvár with

[40] Cf. Gálfy, "Geleji Katona István," 116. In a number of Transylvanian localities, however, presbyteries were already functioning early (see chapter 10).
[41] Ibid., 117.
[42] For example, on the title page of the *Praeconium evangelicum*.

the arrival in the autumn 1598 of a group of Calvinists from Nagyvárad, then under siege by the Ottomans. As in the case of the Lutheran community a few decades later, the actual founding was accomplished by immigrants, although the city could look back to phases in its religious history during the second half of the 16th century that were clearly marked by Lutheranism or by Calvinism. The Calvinist princes who ruled in Transylvania in the first half of the 17th century—beginning with Bocskai, then on to Gábor Báthori, Bethlen, and György I Rákóczi—contributed decisively to the consolidation of the Reformed community. The princes' latitude for action was however limited; the rights and sensibilities of the town's majority religious community had to be respected. Favored by cautiously pro-Calvinist measures (adopted under pressure from the princes), the Reformed community in Kolozsvár was able to maintain itself over the long term and to grow in an environment that was not always hospitable.[43]

The beginnings were modest: Early in the 17th century the group was still very small in number and held their worship service in the gateway of a townsman's house on Belközép Street. Some contemporary authors viewed this place as the "first Reformed church in Kolozsvár."[44] According to the sources, the community's first permanent clergyman was Lukács Maróti Traszki, who assumed office in 1608. In this year the estates, under pressure from Gábor Báthori, decreed the right of a Reformed clergyman to establish himself in Kolozsvár as well as the right to hold regular services "at a specified place," but with the constraint that these services should not disturb the town's Unitarian citizens.[45] In March 1609 Báthori arranged for an abandoned, formerly Dominican church (in Óvár) to be handed over to the Reformed community. Only after some hesitation did the (Unitarian) town council comply with the princely order; the Unitarian academic college (kollégium) was also housed in the former Dominican monastery, in a building

[43] Cf. to this section Gábor Sipos, "Les calvinistes de Kolozsvár au début de XVII[e] siècle," in Balázs, *György Enyedi and Central European Unitarianism*, 313–317.

[44] Éva Windisch (ed.), *Miklós Bethlen, Élete leírása magától* [Miklós Bethlen, The Story of His Life, Written by Himself] (Budapest, 1980), 488; Pál Péter Domokos, "Tatrosy György önéletírása és történeti följegyzései [György Tatrosy's Autobiography and Historical Writings]," *Irodalomtörténeti közlemények* (1957), 242. In 1645 the owner of the house mounted a commemorative plaque on this spot describing its significance for the beginnings of the Reformed Church in Kolozsvár.

[45] Prior to this, services were apparently held by guest preachers. See János Herepei, *Traszki másképpen Maróti Lukács* [Traszki alias Maróti Lukács] (Budapest, 1966), 334f. Cf. Sipos, "Les calvinistes," 314.

next to the church, and the councilmen feared that possible conflicts might result from the physical nearness of the two institutions. The meeting minutes and bequest records from that time list the conditions and privileges that were attached to the transfer. The Reformed community received the unlimited right of religious practice. In addition to unhindered celebration of worship service in the church that they had received, this meant the Calvinists had the right to form public funeral processions in the town. At the same time, the prince decreed that no one was allowed to defame the faith of a fellow citizen. As a precautionary measure he had the windows of the kollégium facing the church bricked up.[46]

Another three years would pass before the first worship services could be held in the rebuilt church. Báthori supported the community as much as he could: He regularly gave it half of the tithes raised in the town; the town council contributed to the costs of renovation; the Calvinist clergymen enjoyed the same tax privileges as the Unitarian preachers. In the same period (until 1612) the community bought a house in Óvár, in which from then on the Reformed pastor resided. Two years after the church started being used, another building in the vicinity was purchased and turned into a Reformed school.[47] Finally, the Reformed bishop Tasnádi—at the behest of Báthori's successor, Bethlen, and despite only modest growth in the community—named another clergyman for the Kolozsvár community, who was housed in a second parsonage.[48]

Also during Bethlen's reign the Calvinists came into possession of another church. The academy that the prince had envisioned was not established in Kolozsvár, as originally planned, but in Gyulafehérvár.

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[46] Cf. to this paragraph ibid., 314f. On the sources, see Szilágyi, *Monumenta Comitialia*, vol. 6, 111; Mihály Fekete, "A kolozsvári ev. ref. főtanoda régibb s legújabb története [The Older and the Most Recent History of the Klausenburg Reformed College]," *Értesítő* (1874/75), 16–18. The princely bequest documents can be found in the archive of the Reformed Church in Kolozsvár.

[47] On the history of the Reformed school, whose reputation would grow steadily in the coming decades, see also István Török, *A kolozsvári ev. ref. collegium története* [History of the Kolozsvár Reformed College] (Kolozsvár, 1905).

[48] The development of the Reformed community in Kolozsvár was in no small part due to the circumspect personnel policies of the prince and the Reformed bishops, who chose well-trained and experienced men to staff the high-profile position of the Reformed preacher in Kolozsvár. István Dési, who was appointed under Bethlen as Kolozsvár's second preacher, had studied in Wittenberg. Two of the succeeding clergymen received their education in Heidelberg: András Gyöngyösi Kiséri and Tamás Tiszabecsi. Cf. Sipos, "Les calvinistes," 316f.

Thanks to the energetic advocacy of András Gyöngyösi Kiséri, a Reformed clergyman in Kolozsvár at the time who had good connections to the prince, the Kolozsvár Reformed community received the buildings that had been made available for the academy: a former Franciscan monastery and church on Farkas Street that had been in the possession of the Jesuits until 1603. Of course, it was beyond the means of the still small community to renovate the dilapidated church. Not until the 1640s would this be accomplished, with the help of the next Calvinist prince, György I Rákóczi.[49]

By then however a new trend had developed, which the specialist literature treats as a milestone; still during Bethlen's reign, Transylvanian-Saxon Unitarians in Kolozsvár began to convert to Calvinism. The central figure in these events was Adam Gitschner, who in the mid-1620s returned from his studies at German universities to Kolozsvár, taught there for a while at the Unitarian secondary school, converted to Calvinism in 1626, and continued his teaching at the Reformed school. His story did not remain unique; a Transylvanian-Saxon Reformed community developed very quickly, with Gitschner as its first clergyman. By order of Bethlen the new community received a large hall in the neighborhood of the Unitarian kollégium. It was called the Appellatium, and Gitschner gave his first sermon there on 3 December 1628.[50]

Through princely protection the Reformed community in Kolozsvár grew in importance, and this found political expression as well. By the end of the 1630s, under György I Rákóczi, Calvinists made their way not only into the (until then exclusively Unitarian) Hundertmannschaft (Board of One Hundred), but also into the supreme town council. Moreover, they were able to establish a rotation by which every four years the town judge should be elected from among them. In the following decades the religious and political influence of the Calvinists continued to increase in Kolozsvár. In 1655 they already occupied half of the seats on the town council and by the end of the century there were four Reformed churches. However, the St. Michaels Church in the center of town remained in the possession of the numerically superior Unitarians until 1716, when it became Catholic again in the wake of the Counter-Reformation.[51]

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[49] János Herepei, "A kolozsvár-belvárosi református templom újjáépítése [The Rebuilding of the Reformed Church in the Kolozsvár Town Center]," in *Református Szemle* 74 (1986), 469–485.

[50] See Sipos, "Les calvinistes," 316. József Pataki and József Bálint (eds.), *Segesvári Bálint történeti följegyzései* [Segesvári Bálint's Historical Writings] (Bucharest, 1990), 155f. Gitschner's was succeeded by Kaspar Graffius and, beginning in 1642, János Szenci Molnár.

[51] Katalin Péter, "Kolozsvár a magyar műveltségben [Kolozsvár in Hungarian Cul-

Kolozsvár, Reformed church (19th ct.) (Engraving by A. Rottmann, after a drawing by L. Rohbock. Courtesy of the Siebenbürgisches Museum Gundelsheim)

The Catholic Church

Viewed from Rome, the Principality of Transylvania, as described above, had been regarded as a missionary territory since the second half of the 16th century. Around 1630, under the leadership of the Propaganda Fide, missionary activities started to be carried out by an extremely varied group of actors; secular priests, Jesuits, Bosnian and Hungarian Franciscans and, beginning in 1650, Conventuals as well (who were mostly Italian) all came to Kolozsvár. The first to come were Bosnian Franciscans, who disguised themselves as secular priests and were boarded in the manors of Catholic noblemen. Thanks to the intervention of the monks' noble advocates (including the Szekler captain and chancellor István Kovacsóczi), György I Rákóczi extended them princely protection in an edict (1632) that granted them the right to stay in the

ture]," in her *Papok és nemesek. Magyar művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok a reformációval kezdődő másfél évszázadból* [Pastors and Nobles: Studies in Hungarian Cultural History in the 150 Years After the Reformation] (Budapest, 1995), 115–128. Cf. Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier*, 125f.; Sipos, "Les calvinistes," 316.

country and assured to them extensive liberties in ministering to the religious needs of the faithful.[52] At the same time Franciscans established themselves in Mikháza and Kászon and, soon after, Salvatorians took over the monastery in Csíksomlyó, which over the years led to a dispute between Hungarian and Bosnian monks. In 1640 the Bosnian group constituted itself as an autonomous Transylvanian custody and severed its ties to the Hungarian Salvatorian province.

The mission reports of the orders that were active in Transylvania during this period shed some light on the situation of the Catholic Church in the region. After the Jesuits, the Franciscans played the most important role in maintaining Catholicism in the Principality, especially in the eastern part of the region, the Szekler territories. The communications sent regularly back to Rome during the first half of the 17th century show the difficulties faced by Transylvania's Catholic parishes and monastic communities. There was a severe shortage of clergy and the few remaining priests lived in miserable conditions. The reports also indicate disputes and tussles over authority within the order regarding the foundation and maintenance of the monastic settlements that were intended to be missionary centers in the Principality.[53] We limit ourselves here to some eloquent snapshots that emerge from the reports. Thus on 19 March 1637 Giovanni Battista da Terugia, provincial head of the Franciscan observants, writes to Cardinal Antonio Barberini (praefect of the Propaganda Fide) on the situation in the Csíksomlyó monastery:[54] Of the only four Franciscan monks living there, one is very old and another is sick. He therefore suggests that a new guardian be sent with two to three priests. He also sees it as essential that schoolmasters be sent, otherwise the Franciscans in Csíksomlyó are threatened with extinction and "some bloodthirsty Calvinist wolf" will occupy the monastery buildings.[55] Also of particular interest is the correspondence

[52] Cf. to this section Zach, "Zur Geschichte der Konfessionen," 74f. On the events of the 1630s in the Szekler territories, see also Edit Madas (ed.), *Liber niger: Fekete könyv. Az erdélyi ferences kusztódia története. Kájoni János kézírata, 1684* [Liber niger. Black Book. History of the Franciscan Custody in Transylvania. Manuscript of János Kájoni, 1684] (Szeged, 1991).

[53] A recent overview of the situation of the Catholic Church in 17th-century Transylvania has been provided by Csilla Gábor, "Catholic Devotional Literature in Seventeenth-Century Transylvania," in Crăciun, *Confessional Identity in East-Central Europe*, 121–133, here 124.

[54] Tóth, *Litterae missionariorum*, vol. 2, Rome, 847–849.

[55] "[…] perché in breve possono morire quelli nostri sacerdoti, e non essendovi altri religiosi, potrebbe entrare qualche lupo rapace Calvinista […]." In: ibid., 848.

precipitated by a visitation by Stefano a Salina in 1638.

Stefano a Salina's Church Visitation of 1638. Reports and Letters to the Propaganda Fide

The Propaganda Fide assigned the task of carrying out the long overdue church visitations in Transylvania to the Franciscan observant Stefano a Salina.[56] Sent from Rome on 1 October 1636,[57] the letter containing the mandate took over a year to reach the designated apostolic inspector in Mikháza/Köszvényes (Maros-Torda county), where he lived in a small monastery of the Bosnian Franciscans[58] on the western edge of the Szekler lands. Salina anticipated the difficulties that awaited him: The Catholic clergymen of the region, many of whom were married or living in concubinage, would hardly welcome with open arms the foreign monk who was supposed to re-establish church discipline. Therefore he contacted his most important supporters among the ranks of the Transylvanian Catholic nobles, who sent a letter at the end of the year to the clergy in the Szekler territories. In this letter influential Catholic noblemen in high political and administrative positions (for example Zsigmond Kornis, princely counselor and *capitaneus* of Nagyvárad; István Haller and István Erdélyi, counts of Küküllő and Torda counties; Mihály Toldalagi, royal judge of Marosszék, *capitaneus* of Háromszék and emissary to the Porte) called on priests to support the inspector and not to hinder his work, threatening to punish those who did not cooperate. That Salina's task was carried out under very adverse conditions is shown by a rather hostile letter from the church deacon of Csík. In the spring of 1638 Mihály Árkosi wrote the following to the clergy of his area in a text that was actually intended to serve as Salina's letter of introduction: "I did not let him [Salina] go out to inspect the paters without receiving instructions from the seat,

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[56] Apparently the monk came originally from Bosnian Tuzla (Latin *Salinae*), and his Bosnian name may have been Stjepan Tuzlanski. In the sources however he appears as "Stefano da Salina" (Italian), "Stephanus de Salinis" (Latin) or, as here, Stefano a Salina.

[57] Cf. Tóth, *Litterae missionariorum*, 922–927.

[58] As subjects of Ottoman rule the Bosnians were less suspicious in the eyes of Transylvanian political leaders than Franciscans arriving from Habsburg territory. Cf. also Salina's letter (from 1639) to Cardinal Barberini, prefect of the Propaganda Fide. In: ibid., 1019.

indeed I contacted the seat's leaders, for we eat bread by their grace, and we are the chaplains, the pastors of the seat." The leaders of the Csík administrative district gave their approval and provided room and board for Salina, because "we,"—continued Árkosi—"will give him neither food nor housing."[59]

The report, signed by Salina (*Visitationes in partibus Siculiae*, including communications on sixty communities by 4 May in 1638) and written in the hand of Kázmér Damokos,[60] lists the names of priests, the numbers of believers, and the transgressions of church discipline. Here is a brief summary of the situation as found by Salina: In the Csík district, Salina visited 19 villages with populations ranging from 90[61] to 560[62] Catholic households. Four clergymen were living in concubinage (one of them with children),[63] two others had children (both by multiple wives.)[64] In three villages there were no Catholic clergymen. In the seat of Maros Salina inspected four villages whose Catholic households numbered from 43 (Szováta) to 150 (Székelyhodos). Two of these communities (one of them, Nyárádsellye, is listed as newly

[59] Ibid., 922.

[60] At that time the Franciscan observant Kázmér Damokos (1606–1678), who decades later would become the Transylvanian custos and even apostolic vicar, had not yet been ordained. Damokos came from a prestigious Szekler family and had returned home to visit his relatives and convert them to Catholicism. In the spring of 1638 he accompanied Salina on his church visitations, serving as interpreter and secretary. In: ibid., 1018.

[61] Csíkménaság and Csíkszentdomokos.

[62] Csíkkarcfalva, with its dependent villages Csíkmadaras, Oláhfalva, Csíkdánfalva and Csíkjenőfalva.

[63] "Koszmas, habet filiales 4: Laszarfalua, Tusnad, Szentkereszt, et Verebes. Hic manet sacerdos Emericus Siket, habet mulierem pro coquina, et habuit ab ipsa filium et filiam, modo quoque tenet illam apud se. Parochia ista continet homines uxoratos 436." In: ibid., 923. (Apart from this: Among the Transylvanian-Saxon clergy, too, concubinage was widespread already before the Reformation and enjoyed the backing of leading church hierarchs. In 1520 Ferenc Várdai, then bishop of Gyulafehérvár, threatened priests living in this manner with heavy penalties. This prompted an immediate protest in the name of all chapters in the Königsboden by the dean general and pastor of Meschen, Alexander. In: Herbert, *Die Reformation in Hermannstadt*, 5f.; cf. Schuller, *Der siebenbürgisch-sächsische Pfarrer*, 21.)

[64] In this regard Salina knows further details about the already mentioned clergyman Mihály Árkosi: "Kis Aszszony [Csíkgörcsfalva], filiales vero Madefalua et Giotrocz falua et Vaczarczi [Vacsárcsi]. Continet homines uxoratos 500. Hic est sacerdos Michael Arkosi, qui habuit multos filios et filias, quamvis non habuit uxorem, neque solet confiteri, nec in agone, dum incidisset in infirmitatem, voluit confitere, sed meretrices suas convocavit et consignavit illis thesaurum suum. Quano audierunt saeculares officiales, ceperunt illas et posuerunt ad compedes, et ille donavit illis officialibus unum equum, ut dimitterent illas." In: Tóth, *Litterae missionariorum*, 923.

converted—*qui de novo est conversus*) had no priest. In the largest community the priest was a widower and had a son and a maid (*tenet etiam aliam ancillam*). The report goes on to list 16 villages in the seat of Udvarhely with communities ranging in size from 32 (Remete) to 213 (Székelyszenttamás and Oroszhegy) Catholic households. In eleven villages there was no Catholic priest. One priest was married and had sons and daughters. As for two other (non-Catholic) villages (Siklód and Küsmöd), the report says the believers would convert if they had a priest (*et duo pagi sunt, qui converterentur, si haberent sacerdotem*). Finally, in Háromszék, Salina inspected 17 communities (with 36–50 Catholic households), of which six had no priest at all. In eight villages, Salina found priests who were married or living in concubinage, as well as one widower. The priest in Futásfalva even had two wives, Salina wrote, and a child by a third woman. From Barót the inspector wrote of an adulterous clergyman with a rather checkered denominational past.[65] In the final section of the report Salina indicated numerous cases of bigamy and incestual marriages in the villages that he visited. He assessed, however, that disciplinary action would hardly be possible, since the secular authorities would not support it and it would result in the censured parties' converting to one of the seven (!) other "sects called *religiones*" in the region.[66]

That same year Stefano a Salina wrote again (this time in his own hand) to the Propaganda Fide.[67] In this letter he referred to the oft repeated wish of the "Catholic lords" to have an anointed bishop in Transylvania again, and he requested this anointment for himself. He further suggested that provision be made in Vienna for training a supply of good priests.[68] The children of priests living in concubinage should be

[65] "Baroth. Continet homines uxoratos 113, ubi est sacerdos Stephanus Rotary, qui antea fuit monachus, deinde perversus, fuit factus unitarius, qui dicitur Arianus, deinde Calvinista, deinde Lutheranus. Jam concionatur Catholice, sed nunquam confitetur Catholicis, sed Lutheranis, ille abstulit uxorem unius viri, quam de facto habet." Salina relates another fascinating story about the clergyman from Kézdiszárazpatak: "Szarazpatak, filialis vero Pelesznek [Kézdikővár]. Continet homines uxoratos 120. Hic est sacerdos Valentinus Vasma, qui aufugerat cum una meretrice in Tartariam at Czebeczek, ubi mansit 5 annis, deinde reversus, est concubinarius publicus." In: ibid., 925.

[66] Ibid., 926.

[67] Ibid., 1015–1018.

[68] The emphasis here is on "good": "Si posset fiere, ut Viennae possemus tenere 3 vel 4 alumnos bonos, quos nos probavimus pro ista patria, non tales, sicut iste Michael, qui Romae studuit in Collegio de Propaganda Fide, et est factus haereticus, et blasfemator religionis catholicae." The cautionary example was Michael Herbart (Herbert?). Born around 1610 into a Lutheran family in Schässburg, he began his studies in Padua and

given absolution so that they, too, could become priests. Salina's further proposals: To allay the suspicions of the princes, the custody should no longer belong to the (Habsburgian) Upper-Hungarian monastic province, but should rather receive its own status, comparable to the Bulgarian custody or the Bosnian monastic province.[69] Furthermore, the monastery in Csíksomlyó should belong to the custody. Salina would like to have prayer books and communion chalices sent to the poorest communities in the Szekler territories and, to the monastery in Mikháza, requisites for the mass and books from Vienna and Venice. More items from the last part of the letter: The priests Gábor and Péter took wives in the previous year; at an assembly, all the priests living in concubinage decided not to submit to any church leader who would require them to separate from their wives, but would rather live under the protection of the Calvinist superintendent Geleji Katona. Salina closes by referring to a letter sent to him by the citizens of Udvarhely, who request a Catholic clergyman, or they will fetch themselves a Calvinist preacher. Some of them, writes Salina, have already left the faith.

On 23 March, just over a year after his church visitations, Salina wrote another letter to the cardinals of the Propaganda Fide.[70] In the first part of the missive he mentioned a message he had received from the elected bishop (*episcopus electus*) Simándi (dated 19 June 1639), in which he was asked to assume the office of vicar for Transylvania. According to Salina, this was also the wish of the local Catholic lords and the Jesuit fathers. If the Propaganda Fide did not look after Transylvania, he said, then many people would die without receiving the sacraments, for many rectories stood empty, and of the few priests many lived in concubinage and were drunkards, among other things (*ebriosi ultra alia vicia*). It was horrible, he went on, just to report how the clergy handled the host (*Sacramentum Sacrae eucaristiae quomodo tractant orendum [horrendum] est dicere*): They held it in wooden vessels

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continued them in Rome, where he converted to Catholicism. In the summer of 1634 he applied to the Propaganda Fide for acceptance into a Roman seminary in order—as he described it—to be able to return after his training to Transylvania and to work there as a missionary priest. After being registered for three years on the rolls of the Collegium Urbanum, the Propaganda Fide's seminary in Rome, he was ordained and, bearing a letter of recommendation from the Viennese Nuntius, returned to Transylvania, where, however, he soon reconverted to Lutheranism. Salina, too, refers to Herbart in a letter he wrote in 1640 to Francesco Ingoli, secretary of the Propaganda Fide. In ibid., 1098.

[69] See note 58.

[70] Cf. for this paragraph ibid., 1037–1039.

and carried it to the sickbeds sandwiched between the pages of books. They married the spouses of living people to others and there was no village anymore without someone who had two or even three wives, and marriages between relatives of the second, third, or fourth grade were common as well.

Another letter, sent on 16 June 1640 by the Csíksomlyó Franciscan observant Damokos to Francesco Ingoli, secretary of the Propaganda Fide, is also revealing. Damokos pointed to the already well known difficulties (too few monks and too few priests, some of whom had recently died while two had converted to Calvinism; the many vacant rectories in the Szekler villages, giving rise to the fear that they were being occupied by "heretical" preachers) and suggested improvements by, for example, requesting permission to celebrate the mass in two villages on one day. He also refered to religious policies in the Principality by reporting that a Jesuit father (Jászberényi) was sent back by György I Rákóczi with the remark that there were already enough Jesuits in Transylvania. Damokos further reported that, at the Diet, the prince responded negatively to the suggestion by Catholic noblemen that the country be opened to Jesuits, but made statements of a different kind regarding the Franciscans: They may come, especially if they are originally from Transylvania. At the same Diet the prince confirmed Stefano a Salina as vicar, which allowed him to visit the communities and punish the pastors who were living in concubinage. Damokos ended his letter with the request that the Propaganda Fide should now name a bishop for Transylvania and send him there, adding that overall the liberties now enjoyed by the Catholics were more extensive than they had been before.[71]

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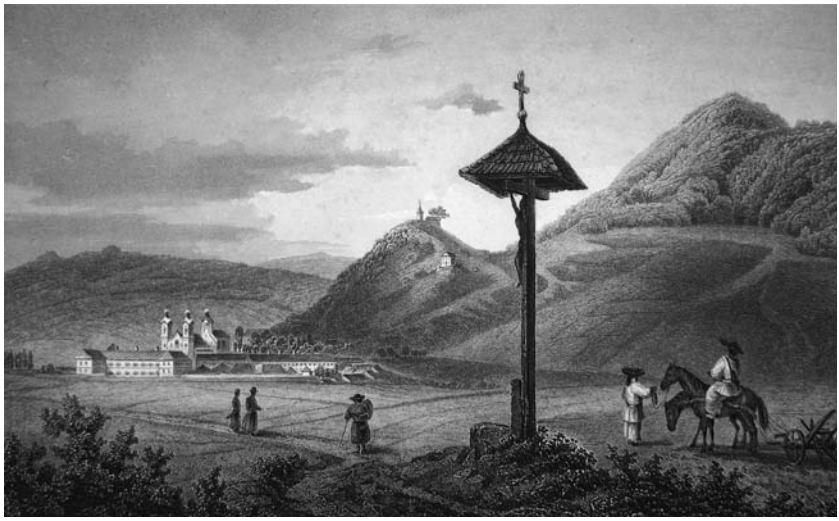
[71] Ibid., 1138–1140. Among the numerous documents concerning Transylvanian affairs was also the story of one István Rátonyi, "son of heretics," who—by his own account—was converted to Catholicism by two Capuchin monks on the road to Wittenberg, was accepted into the seminary of the Propaganda Fide and, in a letter, applied to the organization for financial support (In: ibid., 1024). Finally, a situation report from Papmező (in Bihar county, near Nagyvárad): The Franciscan Conventual and missionary Bonaventura da Taormina writes on 8 August 1643 to the secretary of the Propaganda Fide that, although the landlord who is putting him up is Catholic, the landlord's attendants are Calvinist. The secretary should only imagine how these people behave toward the monks who have to live among them in the castles and courts. On every Sunday and holiday he gives a sermon in Latin, but, he must honestly admit, only a very few (*paucissimi*) understand him, for they are all Calvinists, who do not want to understand him at all. In this region it is enough if they, the monks, by good example and preaching, can manage to keep the few remaining Catholics within the true faith. Every day at lunch and dinner he argues with the heretics (the



Csíksomlyó (Engraving by Knopfmacher, after a drawing by L. Rohbock. Courtesy of the Siebenbürgisches Museum Gundelsheim)

In May 1643 Salina wrote on the quarrels between the Franciscans of the Salvatorian province and the Csíksomlyó Franciscans, saying that the Salvatorians were trying to stir up the Catholic noblemen against the Csíksomlyó Franciscans and prevent the establishment of the new Transylvanian custody.[72] Several documents preserved from the years 1643–1646 provide an insight into disagreements among the members of the Franciscan order who were active in Transylvania: In two letters the new custos, Fulgenzio da Jesi, requests that he be sent with three other monks in order to make peace between the Hungarian and

Calvinist preachers) over the sacraments. They demand arguments and claim the altar sacraments are apocryphal. Worse yet, he does not even understand them, for they seldom speak Latin, but mostly Hungarian. He has been there for ten months now, which seem like ten years to him. He has been sleeping on straw and hay since he left Italy, and he no longer knows what pillows and bed-sheets are. If he falls ill, he will die, for neither physicians nor medicine are available. Finally, the monk reports of clergymen in the Szekler territories who are living in concubinage and whom he will gladly excommunicate, if the Propaganda Fide will only grant him the necessary authority. In: ibid., 1357–1360.

[72] Ibid., 1332–1335.

Bosnian Franciscans; in a letter from autumn of 1644 to the cardinals of the Propaganda Fide, Stefano a Salina points out that, fifteen years after the Bosnian Franciscans came to spread the Catholic religion in Transylvania, Fulgenzio da Jesi now arrives in the country as the new custos, bearing a papal brief, but, because the prince's original precept had said to bring no further Franciscans into the land from outside the Ottoman realm, the Propaganda Fide should send da Jesi somewhere else.[73] Mariano a Saraevo presented similar arguments to the cardinals. He and Salina found Fulgenzio's potential activities damaging for the Catholic cause, therefore they did not accept him as custos.[74] On 4 Februar 1647 Bertalan Kolozsvári reported to the Propaganda Fide that Fulgenzio da Jesi had died of the plague on 4 October 1646. Kolozsvári refers to Fulgenzio as prefect of the Hungarian and Transylvanian missions and Transylvanian custos, and writes that he had been sent to Transylvania three years earlier but could not perform his office there, because neither the Bosnian Franciscans (in Mikháza) nor those in Csíksomlyó would recognize him. Kolozsvári goes on to describe how Pater Fulgenzio, at the behest of the nobleman István Lázár, then founded a mission in the Szárhegy cemetery (in a newly erected mission building next to the Chapel of the Virgin Mary) and performed his ministry there for two and a half years. Kolozsvári requests that a new mission prefect be sent, even in view of the great lack of priests: Many rectories are vacant, he says, and he has served with Pater Fulgenzio in five villages during the plague. Finally he asks the pope to send reinforcements for the—as he puts it—mission house, which was sought out by many pilgrims at every Feast of the Virgin.[75] Gabriel Thomasi as well, the (Bulgarian) inspector sent to Transylvania from Rome after Jesi's death, was received by some of the brothers with anything but

[73] Ibid., 1393–1394.

[74] Ibid., 1416–1418.

[75] Ibid., 1564–1566. See also the letter from the priest of Gyergyószentmiklós, György Ferenczi, to Pope Innocent X (22 January 1647, in ibid., 1562–1563), in which Ferenczi reported the following: he had three monastic settlements erected in the area, including chapels, two for hermits (one in "Beliken loka" and one next to Gyergyószentmiklós) and one for the "pious women" (*piarum feminarum*), in Kilyénfa. He asked the pope for a remission of levies for the chapel, "for the people visited it day and night." Ferenczi signed the letter with *sacer celebs*, "unmarried priest," alluding thereby to his rather exceptional marital status among the Transylvanian Catholic clergymen of those times.

open arms. On 17 April 1647 Thomasi wrote from Caransebeș about the difficulties he had experienced in Transylvania. He said that Salina did not comply with the order's rules and the Propaganda Fide should punish him.[76] Almost simultaneously (26 April 1647) Salina, too, wrote to the Propaganda Fide's secretary, Francesco Ingoli, that inspector Thomasi was upsetting things in Transylvania and that there were no infractions of the rules of the order.[77]

[76] Ibid., 1567–1569. He writes of an energetic Catholic layman who should be ordained, meaning Ferenc Győri, Fulgenzio's attendant. He goes on to say that the image of the saint and the chalice the Jesuits had sent were brought to the villages, and the "new Catholics" were very pleased with them.

[77] Ibid., 1570–71.

CHAPTER NINE

THE FINAL YEARS

Preliminary Remarks

Fighting did not cease in Transylvania with the death of György II Rákóczi. His former army commander, János Kemény, with Habsburg assistance, advanced from Upper Hungary against Barcsai, who was supported by the Ottomans. Kemény prevailed and was elected prince in January 1661. After he had Barcsai executed in July that same year, a large Ottoman army invaded Transylvania. On 15 September 1661, a Diet held under the aegis of Ali Pasha installed Mihály Apafi as ruler, thus inaugurating a reign that would last just under three decades and mark the final phase in the existence of the (largely) autonomous Principality of Transylvania. Just ten months before assuming power Apafi had returned from a four-year internment by Crimean Tartars. He was living in seclusion on his properties when, bowing to Ottoman pressure, he acceded to the princely throne.[1] Not until 1664 did both the Habsburg forces (under field marshal Montecuccioli) and the Ottoman troops withdraw from Transylvania. In the following decades the limitations on the country's freedom of action became evident, especially in foreign policy, as for example in the futile attempt in 1672 to assist the Upper-Hungarian, anti-Ottoman rebellion led by Imre Thököly. Economically, however, the Principality was able to recover somewhat in the 1670s. The estates remained wary of the Viennese court, even after 1683, when the Ottomans had been driven out of the *pashaluk* of Buda and negotiations were underway for Transylvania to submit to the Habsburgs on more favorable terms.

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[1] For more on Apafi see, for example, Ernő Tóth (ed.), *I. és II. Apafi Mihály fejedelmek naplója az 1634–1694. évekről* [The Journals of the Princes Mihály Apafi I and II During the Years 1634 and 1694] (Kolozsvár, 1900); István Halmai, *I. Apafi Mihály fejedelemsége (1661–1690)* [The Reign of Mihály Apafi I (1661–1690)] (Szeged, 1934); Béla Szádecky, *I. Apafi Mihály fejedelem udvartartásából* [From the Court Administration of Mihály Apafi I] (Kolozsvár, 1913); Sándor Tavaszi, *A két Apafi fejedelem* [The Two Princes Apafi] (Kolozsvár, 1943); Mihály Sebestyén, *Erdélyi fejedelmek* [Transylvanian Princes] (Marosvásárhely, 1994). Cf. Oborni, *Erdély fejedelmei*, 170–189; Volkmer, *Das Fürstentum Siebenbürgen*, 180–186; Roth, *Kleine Geschichte Siebenbürgens*, 65.

Ali Cengizade (c. 1578–1664), pasha of Temesvár, led the Ottoman campaigns in Transylvania in 1660 and 1661 (Engraving by G. Bouttats, after a drawing by J. Toorenvliet. Courtesy of the Siebenbürgisches Museum Gundelsheim)

Sabbatarian Episodes

Just a few years after the Complanatio of Dés (1638) and the ensuing conversions by many Sabbatarians to one of the recognized religions (especially to Unitarianism and Calvinism), the political leadership once again showed its resolve to halt the resurgence of Sabbatarian activities in the country. To be sure, Reformed superintendent Geleji Katona wrote in his Titkok titka (Secret of Secrets, 1645) that György I Rákóczi hat prevented the spread of Sabbatarianism ("the plague of Judaizing") and "eradicated" the Sabbatarians to such an extent that, if any still existed at all, they were only a very few and in hiding. At the same time, however, Rákóczi's son, acting as ruler while his father was fighting abroad, found it necessary in 1644 to nominate a commission to investigate reports of newly formed Sabbatarian communities in the Szekler territories.[2] Indeed, contemporaries had remarked that the forced conversions would not hold.[3] Another anti-Sabbatarian edict was issued following the accession of György II Rákóczi to the throne on 19 September 1652,[4] but thereafter interest was focused on other fronts, especially on wars at home and abroad that would prove disastrous. No further reports of anti-Sabbatarian measures have been preserved from the years of György II Rákóczi's reign.

Just months after Apafi was confirmed as the prince of Transylvania, and the political situation had stabilized, the Sabbatarians were once again on the agenda. An investigation report written on 9 May 1662 indicates that a commission tasked with bringing "Judaizers" in the Szekler territories back onto the righteous path of Calvinism had only moderate success. In several villages of the region (Szenterzsébet, Kissolymos, Bözöd, Bözödújfalu) a princely edict to this effect was read to the offenders in the presence of the village judge. We can only assume that the edict's wording hewed closely to the text that had been incorporated as Part 1, Title 4 into a collection of constitution-like laws approved by the Diet in 1653, the *Approbatae Constitutiones Regni Transylvaniae*.[5] In Szenterzsébet, according to the report, a few

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[2] See *Keresztény Magvető* 11 (1876), 63; cf. to this paragraph Kohn, *Die Sabbatharier in Siebenbürgen*, 233f.

[3] Even Katona was aware of this, according to Szilágyi, *Monumenta Comitialia*, vol. 10, 214; see also János Kemény, *Önéletírás* [Autobiography] (Pest, 1856), 409; *Szalárdi János siralmas magyar krónikája* [The Hungarian Chronicle of Sorrows of János Szalárdi] (Budapest, 1980), 135.

[4] *Keresztény Magvető* 3 (1868), 260.

[5] "4th title. Regarding the Judaizers: Although the country has already adopted

Sabbatarians showed themselves unregenerate at first, but then the majority among them promised to heed the good counsel, and only a few persisted in their "delusion." The people of Kissolymos, on the other hand, said *they* had taken no oath in Dés, and what their fathers may have done there was none of their concern. The inhabitants of Bözöd—so the report continues—were even more intractable. They sent only their pastor and two other villagers, who spoke for all in averring that they did not believe the prince had issued any such edict because His Highness had much more pressing business than worrying about religion in his country. Besides, there had been such admonitions before, and they had amounted to nothing in the end.[6]

Another eight years would pass before another government commission, sent by Apafi, arrived in the villages of eastern Transylvania. Transcripts dated from 21 to 24 May 1670 afford insight into the statements of the witnesses and into the questions that were put to them.[7] In Nagysolymos witnesses accused 23 people, in Kőrispatak 46 people of "Judaizing" behavior. Many villagers in other settlements of the region were denounced as well.[8] Nothing is known about what sanctions, if any,

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numerous decrees concerning the Judaizers, and a majority of the measures in them have been carried out according to the decrees from the years 1622 and 1635, which are even now in force regarding both their entire content and the procedures prescribed therein for their execution, these articles of law are hereby renewed for future times as well, so that, from now on, those who belong in this category [the "Judaizers"] according to the first article of the law from the year 1622 shall lose all their movable and unmovable goods and their heads, with the possibility of ransom." In: Alexandru Herlea et al. (eds.), *Constituțiile aprobate ale Transilvaniei (1653)* [Transylvania's *Approbatae Constitutiones* (1653)] (Cluj-Napoca, 1997), 53–54.

[6] Printed in *Keresztény Magvető* 17 (1882), 224–226. Cf. Kohn, *Die Sabbatharier in Siebenbürgen,* 235; see also Kovács, *Az erdélyi szombatosság nyomában*, 113; József Koncz, *Adatok a bözödi ev. ref. egyházközség történetéhez* [Data Regarding the History of the Reformed Church Community in Bözöd] (Marosvásárhely, 1905).

[7] Questioning proceeded along these lines: Who does not work on Saturdays, but instead secretly makes a holiday of this day? Who has worked on Sunday, made hay, spun, done the wash? Who eats no pork? Who has blasphemed against Jesus? Who celebrates Jewish feasts (feasts with unleavened bread, *pogácsás ünnepet*)? The transcripts and the report are printed in *Keresztény Magvető* 9 (1874), 147f. See Kovács, *Az erdélyi szombatosság nyomában*, 114.

[8] Here is an overview of the conspicuous behaviors that they were charged with: In Szenterzsébet: A and B eat no pork, but rather goose fat; C never leaves the house and yard on Saturday; D said during a friendly gathering that he does not believe in a God who was put to death; E said, when the witness called out for Jesus' help during a storm: Why do you pray to the lesser one? In Kissolymos: F and his wife eat no pork; F says: My father didn't eat it either, and I don't eat it; an acquaintance of one of the witnesses converted with him to Calvinism, however shortly later became Unitarian, but only because he is really a Judaizer; G says: Jesus was a human being just like us; H says: The harvest is so bad because you all are working on Saturdays; after the visit

Mihály I Apafi (Engraving by C. Meyssens. Courtesy of the Siebenbürgisches Museum Gundelsheim)

were actually imposed subsequent to the questioning. Since no further anti-Sabbatarian edicts are known for the next 50 years, Samuel Kohn concludes that the Sabbatarian movement was, "if not suppressed, then curbed for a considerable time."[9]

Witch Trials

By the 17th century the charge of witchcraft was different than it had been in the previous century, with respect to both the social patterns of its prosecution and the cultural background of the people accused.[10] The high-profile, lengthy witch trial in which Apafi was personally involved is a good example of the new paradigm: Over a period of more than seven years (1679–1686), 25 women (including 13 noblewomen) were brought before the court, the most prominent among them being the wife of one of Apafi's political rivals, Pál Béldy. She was charged with having cast a spell on the prince's wife, Anna Bornemisza, causing her frequent illnesses and the death of her newborn children. Mrs. Béldy finally died in prison, without the charges against her having been proved.[11] The pattern was not new with this case, however.

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of the archdeacon and two preachers last year, Mrs. I said aloud to the witness: the "Tartars" are gone, but they had not taken any of the people of God; the same woman is sick on Friday evening, but well again on Sunday; a number of women were found by their neighbors doing housework on Sunday, others prepare meals ahead on Friday for Saturday; J washed himself in the brook, even though the water was cold, this certainly comes from Jewish rituals. In Bözöd: a number of people (identified by name) gather Saturdays at K's place, where he reads to them from the Pentateuch; Mrs. L wears white clothing on Saturdays, which she does not otherwise do; not only does she eat no pork, but no hare either; M says, if Jesus was God, they would not have been able to crucify him. Witnesses saw N and O plowing their fields on the second day of Easter; the servant of farmer P says they use separate pots to cook for him. In: Kovács, *Az erdélyi szombatosság nyomában*, 114–115.

[9] Only after Transylvania had been incorporated into the Habsburg Empire did attention once again turn to the Sabbatarians. Beginning in 1717 a series of edicts and charges were issued, but driven now by the decisive collaboration of the Catholic instead of the Reformed clergy. Under duress, the targeted Sabbatarians converted, this time to Catholicism instead of Calvinism. Cf. Kohn, *Die Sabbatharier in Siebenbürgen*, 236–237.

[10] Gábor Klaniczay, "Witch-Hunting in Hungary: Social or Cultural Tensions?" in his *The Uses of Supernatural Power. The Transformation of Popular Religion in Medieval and Early-Modern Europe* (Princeton, 1990), 151–167, here 158f.

[11] János Herner, *Rontás és igézés. Politikai boszorkányper Erdélyben 1668–1688* [Witchcraft and Curses: Political Witch Trials in Transylvania 1668–1688] (Budapest, 1988); János Herner, *Bornemisza Anna megbűvőltetése. Boszorkányok Erdély politikai küzdelmében* [Casting the Spell on Anna Bornemisza: Witches in the Political Power Struggles of Transylvania] (Budapest, 1988).

Six decades earlier, another Transylvanian ruler, Gábor Bethlen, had brought charges against three women who had had close relations with his predecessor on the princely throne, Gábor Báthori, including Báthori's sister, Anna.[12] In that case, also, one of the major points of the prosecution was the charge that black magic had been used against Bethlen's wife, and there, too, the proceedings lasted more than seven years (1614–1621), until finally the accused were banished and their possessions confiscated. The legal basis for the prosecution mounted by Bethlen's side was a decree of the Diet from 1614 regulating the prosecution of witchcraft.[13] In both cases—Apafi against Mrs. Béldy and Bethlen against Anna Báthori—the most obvious motivation was the fear, harbored by the winner of a struggle for the throne, that the loser might seek vengeance;[14] the winning party charged the relatives of the losing party with witchcraft, removing in this way potential sources of (political) trouble. Another noteworthy commonality between the two cases is the deployment of the stereotype—well-known in the 17th century—of the conjuring noblewoman, who enlists the aid of specialized helpers in her machinations by paying local, adept women to provide "magical" knowledge, and who is then brought up on charges and portrayed as the personification of evil.[15]

The Catholics

With few exceptions, the Catholic literature that circulated in Transylvania in the first half of the 17th century was published outside the country. This trend continued into the last decades of the century.[16]

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[12] András Komáromy, "A 'bűbájos' Báthory Anna [The 'Witch' Anna Báthory]," *Századok* 28 (1894), 298–314; János Szendrei, "Török Katalin pere. A bűbájosság történetéhez a XVII-ik században [The Trial of Katalin Török: On the History of Witchcraft in the 17th Century]," *Történelmi Tár* (1891), 317–334.

[13] Szilágyi, *Monumenta Comitialia*, vol. 6, 413.

[14] Klaniczay, "Witch-Hunting in Hungary," 158.

[15] The trials also illustrate how any kind of moral delinquency could be brought into connection with the stereotype of the witch. Further charges against Anna Báthori included an incestuous relationship with her brother and the murder of her own son. Her cousin, Erzsébet Báthori, had been accused of the murder of several hundred servants and was sentenced to death. According to the hardly surprising testimony of her servants, she, too, experimented with witchcraft. On the case of Erzsébet Báthori, see László Nagy, *A rosszhírű Báthoryak* [The Infamous Báthorys] (Budapest, 1984); Katalin Péter, *A csejtei várúrnő: Báthory Erzsébet* [The Lady of the Castle at Csejte: Erzsébet Báthory] (Budapest, 1985). Cf. Klaniczay, "Witch-Hunting in Hungary," 158–159.

[16] For example *A kerestyéni jossagos cselekedeteknek és a tekelletessegnek gyakorlatos-*

A printing house had been founded in Csíksomlyó, however, by the Franciscan observant János Kájoni in 1676. According to the founding documents, the press was intended to serve the needs of the monks and other Catholics of the eastern Szekler territories (*pro necessitate Missionis Apostolicae et Catholicorum huius regni*).[17] The multi-talented Kájoni was one of the most active Franciscans in Csíksomlyó. His interests lay primarily in the area of music: An organist himself, he repaired the damaged instrument of the church after the Tartar invasion of 1664. Among the first productions of the new printing house was a comprehensive collection of more than 800 church songs in Latin and Hungarian (the Cantionale Catholicum) compiled by Kájoni himself. Other early productions of the press were calendars, Cicero's letters, and Latin grammars for use in the schools.[18] In addition, Kájoni printed new editions of prayer and meditation collections that had been published earlier, for example those by the Szekler Jesuit, Péter Ágoston, from 1685.[19] Overall, it can be said of the 17th century that Catholicism in Transylvania, although still retaining the status of a "received" religion, was in much of the country the denomination of a very small minority that had few influential domestic spokesmen and was quite dependent on support from abroad. But at no time did Catholicism cease to be practiced; the imported literature of Catholic edification found a relatively large number of readers, and the founding of the printing house in Csíksomlyó improved the supply of reading materials for Catholics, especially in the schools.[20]

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saga [The Practice of Christian Good Deeds and Perfections] (Nagyszombat, 1688) by Rodericus Alfonsus, which was translated by the Transylvanian cleric András Illyés and printed in Trnava (Nagyszombat). See on this paragraph Gábor, "Catholic Devotional Literature," 131f.

[17] Madas, *János Kájoni: Fekete könyv*, 60.

[18] János Kájoni, *Cantionale Catholicum* (Csíksomlyó, 1682); Aelius Donatus, *De Octo Partibus Orationis Methodus, Questiunculis puerilibus…* (Csíksomlyó, n.d.); Emmanuel Alvarez, *De Institutione Grammatica Libri tres, quarum secunda nuper est at Veterem fere Grammaticorum rationum revocatus* (Csíksomlyó, n.d.).

[19] Péter Ágoston, *Szívek kincse. Avagy Krisztus Úrunk szenvedésén, és halálán fohászkodó könyvecske: mely nagy lelki buzgóságra gerjeszti, és Istenhez emeli az áhítatos sziveket* [Treasure of the Heart: A Little Book With Prayers on the Suffering and Death of Our Lord Jesus Christ, Which Will Move Devout Hearts to Great Efforts of the Soul and Bring It Nearer to God] (Csíksomlyó, 1685). The book was originally published in Trnava. Kájoni dedicated the new edition to his patron, the Altorja nobleman István Apor. For more on the history of the Catholic community of Altorja, with particulars about the family Apor that resided there, see Artur Coroi, *Altorja. A római katolikus egyházközség története* [Altorja. The History of the Roman Catholic Parish] (Csíkszereda, 2000).

[20] Gábor, "Catholic Devotional Literature," 133.

The Orthodox Church

In 1656, following the death of Simion Ştefan, the Orthodox church synod elected Sava (Simion) Brancovici to be the new metropolitan.[21] After anointment in Tîrgovişte he occupied his seat in Gyulafehérvár as head of the Orthodox Church with a far-reaching jurisdiction: The letter of confirmation issued on 28 December of the same year by György II Rákoczi, in addition to listing the territories of historical Transylvania under Sava Brancovici's purview, also included the western and northern areas of Severin, Zărand, Bihar, and Maramureş. The Făgăraş territory had been excepted from the metropolitan's jurisdiction and remained so. Omitted from the letter were the fifteen conditions to which Simion Ştefan had to agree, nor was explicit emphasis given to the subordination of the metropolitan under the Calvinist superintendent.[22]

Especially the first years of his tenure were a severe test for Brancovici, due to the domestic unrest and the struggle for the princely throne. During the punitive campaign by the Ottomans in 1658, the metropolitan's residence in Gyulafehérvár was burned down. On 9 January of the following year the counter-prince installed by the Sublime Porte, Acaţiu Barcsai, who was of Romanian descent, issued a new letter of confirmation for the metropolitan, which contained all the areas of jurisdiction named by György II Rákóczi (who was still in office) plus the Făgăraş territory. Seizing the advantage of the moment, Sava Brancovici went to the Diet at Bistritz (held in February 1659) and described the plight of the Orthodox clergy, whereupon, on 15 March, Barcsai arranged for Romanian priests to be freed of taxes and levies. Another decree with the same content was adopted a few days later, this time affecting the Făgăraş territory and reconfirming the region's new jurisdictional

[21] Vasile Mangra, *Mitropolitul Sava II Brancovici (1656–1680)* [The Metropolitan Sava II Brancovici) (Arad, 1906); Augustin Bunea, *Mitropolitul Sava Brancovici* [The Metropolitan Sava Brancovici] (Blaj, 1906); Marina I. Lupaş, *Mitropolitul Sava Brancovici, 1656–1683* [The Metropolitan Sava Brancovici, 1656–1683] (Cluj, 1939); cf. to this paragraph Păcurariu, *Istoria bisericii ortodoxe*, 79–93; Ioan Lupaş, *Istoria bisericească a românilor ardeleni* [The Church History of the Transylvanian Romanians] (Cluj-Napoca, 1995), 2nd edition, 77–81.

[22] Mircea Păcurariu offers two explanations for this. The first is based on the fact that Sava Brancovici came from a family of Orthodox clergymen who were staunch fighters against the Ottomans. The second explanation, which seems more plausible, points to the only recently (1655) renewed political ties between Rákóczi and the princes of the Danubian principalities, Constantin Şerban (Wallachia) and Gheorghe Ştefan (Moldavia). See Păcurariu, *Istoria bisericii ortodoxe române*, 80.

Acațiu Barcsai (Engraving by C. Laurentio. Courtesy of the Siebenbürgisches Museum Gundelsheim)

situation.[23] However, Brancovici's anti-Ottoman—thus pro-Rákóczi—leanings quickly brought him into ill favor with Barcsai. Already in July

[23] Ibid., 82; Ioan Lupaș, "Principele ardelean Acațiu Barcsai și mitropolitul Sava Brancovici [The Transylvanian Prince Acațiu Barcsai and the Metropolitan Sava Brancovici]," in his *Studii, conferințe și comunicări istorice [Studies, Lectures and Historical Communications]*, vol. 1 (Bucharest, 1928), 165–193.

1659 Barcsai bestowed the title of metropolitan on Ghenadie III, who called himself "Archbishop of Bălgrad [Gyulafehérvár], the Maramureş, and the entire Transylvanian land." As the prince's protegé, Ghenadie acted as counter-metropolitan (mostly in Hermannstadt) until Barcsai's death in the summer of 1661.

Only after some hesitation did Mihály Apafi confirm Brancovici in his office in the spring of 1662, withdrawing from his jurisdiction, however, the Făgăraş territory, which he placed under Bishop Daniil in a letter of 23 April 1662. Apafi's relationship to the Orthodox Church and to Brancovici remained ambiguous. In 1663 he renewed the tax exemption for the Orthodox clergy, but in 1667 he ordered an investigation into the revenues of the metropolitan and had testimony taken from several priests who had been disciplined by Brancovici. After a trip to Russia, during which Brancovici met not only with high-level Orthodox dignitaries in Moscow but also with the Czar, and on several occasions had indicated the necessity of a common campaign against "the damned Turks," Apafi increased the pressure on him. The prince followed the counsel of the Calvinist superintendent Kovásznai: By means of a decree of 20 February 1669 he imposed the same fifteen conditions on Brancovici that had been forced on his predecessor Simion Ştefan. Apafi also explicitly subordinated Brancovici and his church to the Calvinist superintendent, a relation that was reconfirmed in the summer of 1674 upon the installment of a new Reformed superintendent, Gáspár Tiszabecsi. Brancovici's compliance with the conditions imposed on him was highly selective, but, at synods that he called in the years 1673 and 1675, he did vigorously espouse the use of Romanian in sermons, and thus became the first Orthodox leader to support this Calvinist-imposed innovation.[24] He also supported the Catechese and measures to abolish "superstitious" elements in the faith, especially in connection with the cult of the dead.[25] He ordered regular church visitations, a stricter oversight of church discipline by the protopopes,[26] and

[24] "The pastors who do not make the effort to preach in Romanian, but keep instead to the Serbian [that is, Church Slavonic], and thus incur both the wrath of God and the hatred of their countrymen and thereby also tarnish the name of the synod [the clergy], shall be removed from office." In: Timotei Cipariu, *Acte şi fragmente* [Documents and Fragments] (Blaj, 1855), 149–150.

[25] "But those things that are not reconcilable with the Holy Scripture and with the traditions of our Church and which have been forbidden until now shall remain forbidden. Where such things are discovered, they shall be punished according to the synodal decrees." In: ibid.

[26] Other measures of church disciplining were called for as well: "The pastor who

the offering of mass on Wednesdays, Fridays, Sundays and holidays, and daily during Lent.

Overall, Apafi maintained an approving attitude toward Brancovici in the 1670s, if one considers the edicts that the prince issued during this period regarding the metropolitan and the Orthodox Church. However, in 1680 it became clear on what thin ice Brancovici had been treading, when he was charged with immoral living, misappropriation, and dereliction of his duties, for which he was relieved of his office. Among the possible reasons for the charges are the nomination of a new Calvinist superintendent in the person of Mihály Tófői and—much more seriously—the apparent participation of Gheorghe and Sava Brancovici in a recently discovered conspiracy against Apafi.[27]

The tendency demonstrated by metropolitan Brancovici, to blend some (but by no means all) Calvinist elements into his administration of the Orthodox Church, emerges even more clearly from a brief examination of the life and work of one of the significant hierarchs of the time, the archpriest (protopope) of Vinţ, Ioan Zoba.[28] Ennobled in May 1664, he can be found three years later performing the function of *titor*, that is, administrator of the diocesan assets, a post that was vested with extensive authority in ecclesiastic law. In the summer of 1680, as notary of the great synod (soborul mare), he was among the members of the court who passed judgment on Brancovici.[29] In 1682 he protested the nomination of Ioasaf, a Greek, as metropolitan, because Ioasaf had not been elected by the synod. Ioan Zoba's actions as an administrator seem to have resulted from concessions that the Orthodox Church made to Calvinism at the institutional level; his office and its responsibilities were arranged on the Calvinist model, as was the right of the synod

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appears as a caller at weddings and dances or wanders drunk through the town or goes to the tavern shall not be recognized." In: ibid., 150.

[27] Sava Brancovici was found guilty according to Calvinist church law and imprisoned. His assets were confiscated. He died shortly after being released in the spring of the year 1683. Like Ilie Iorest, his predecessor, Brancovici, too, was beatified in 1955. See Păcurariu, *Istoria bisericii române*, 86–88.

[28] On the following see Ana Dumitran, "Entre orthodoxie et réforme—l'appartenance confessionelle de l'archiprêtre Ioan Zoba de Vinţ," in Maria Crăciun and Ovidiu Ghitta (eds.), *Ethnicity and Religion in Central and Eastern Europe* (Cluj-Napoca, 1995), 136–148.

[29] Ioan Lupaş, "Nobilitatea popii Ioan din Vinţ [The Nobility of the Priest Ioan from Vinţ]," in his *Studii, conferinţe şi comunicări istorice*, 195–197; Ştefan Meteş, *Istoria bisericii şi vieţii religioase a românilor din Transilvania şi Ungaria* [History of the Church and the Religious Life of the Romanians in Transylvania and Hungary] (Sibiu, 1935), 280, 293–294.

to elect the metropolitan. Zoba's role in removing Brancovici from office has tended (along with other indications) to lead historians of the Orthodox Church to a one-sided judgment of his denominational affiliation.[30] His collected sermons, *The Golden Casket*, which Zoba published with the Mühlbach printing house in 1683, also appears at first glance to be a work in the service of Calvinist proselytizing policies.[31] Zoba himself stresses in the introduction that every eulogy recorded in the book is based solely on the Holy Scriptures, indeed on the Vizsoly Bible, which was translated by Gáspár Károlyi in 1590. Zoba also refers to the New Testament and Psalter that were printed in Gyulafehérvár in 1648 and 1651, respectively.[32] However, a closer analysis of Zoba's sermons and other writings reveals that Orthodox ideas far outweigh Calvinist influences in them, with respect to both rituals and dogma. Thus his sermons may be placed in a category for which the designation "Calvinized Orthodoxy" has been suggested in the specialist literature.[33]

Four Orthodox clerics were named to the metropolitan's seat in the five years that followed Sava Brancovici's removal: Iosif Budai from Pișchinți (1680–82), anointed in Wallachia, conducted a church visitation in the area around Bistritz in 1681; Ioasaf (1682–1683) was named metropolitan by Apafi on the recommendation of the Wallachian prince, Șerban Cantacuzino, and was controversial during his tenure for a number of reasons;[34] Sava III was named metropolitan at the

[30] Păcurariu describes him as a "known Calvinophile and enemy of the metropolitan," in: Păcurariu, *Istoria bisericii ortodoxe române*, 87. The chronicler Mihály Cserei writes that Apafi's counselors "bribed a Romanian priest from Vinț to accuse Brancovici of keeping a woman of dubious reputation in his house." In: Lupaș, *Mitropolitul Sava Brancovici*, 10–11.

[31] Ioan Zoba de Vinț, *Sicriul de aur* [The Golden Casket], edited by Anton Goția (Bucharest, 1984).

[32] See Crăciun, "Building a Romanian Reformed Community," 99–120, here 113.

[33] "L'évolution de cette église pendant le XVII[e] siècle a donné lieu à une synthèse que pour l'instant, en absence d'une terminologie plus adéquate, nous nous permettons de nommer orthodoxie réformée ou calvinisée. Parce que, bien que du point de vue dogmatique et liturgique, cette église reste dans les limites de l'Orthodoxie, du point de vue institutionnel les cadres de celle-ci sont beaucoup dépassés, et fait significatif, des éléments de la foi calviniste y sont présents aussi." In: Dumitran, "Entre orthodoxie et réforme," 147–148.

[34] See for example the criticisms leveled against Ioasaf at the trial-synod of 12–13 July 1682 in Gyulafehérvár, at which he was criticized as follows: that he was Greek and did not speak Romanian, that he attained the seat through simony and not by election, that he showed contempt for the Calvinist teaching, and that he had removed several archpriests from office. Cf. Păcurariu, *Istoria bisericii ortodoxe române*, 90.

synod in Gyulafehérvár in 1684 but died in the summer of the following year; finally, Varlaam (Vasile) (1685–1692) was elected by the synod in defiance of the Wallachian prince, who had suggested a priest named Ieremia as successor to Sava III. Besides his long tenure (relative to his three predecessors) it is known of Varlaam that he used his own funds to support the printing of Romanian-language books and that he was a strong advocate for the improvement of the incomes of Orthodox clergymen.[35]

At the end of the 17th century any effort to improve the lot of Transylvania's Orthodox priests was received very gratefully. This is how the Jesuit Andreas Freyberger described their condition:

> The village clergy perform the liturgy on Sundays and holidays, but never on weekdays. They are busy working in the fields: plowing, sowing, mowing, and thrashing the grain just like the other farmers. […] Regarding their clothes, they are not different than the other farmers, the laymen: They wear sheep- and goatskins and distinguish themselves from the common people only by their head covering, which for the priests is blue, for the protopopes and archdeacons black, and they do not remove them, not even when they meat people of the highest rank. […] The priests do not receive tithes from the people, but they earn their bread, as I have already said, by working in the field. What is more, these clergymen are reckoned among […] the serfs. Concerning levies, cartage service, taxes, and other obligations […], no distinction is made between them and the laymen.[36]

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[35] "The priest may receive from every man a stack of wheat and a stack of oats, and they shall mow for him one day and harvest the grain one day until evening, and on St. Peter's Day they shall give him a loaf of cheese. Who has none, however, may pay its value at Easter […]; for a baptism 12 coins; for a wedding 12 coins. Should something on the priest's house be broken, so shall the village repair it; just as they repair the church, so may they repair the priest's house. They should honor the priest as other people honor their priests. The village judge shall however not go to the priest with worldly concerns; nor shall anyone lay hands on his possessions, neither with the judge, nor with the village principal […] without the knowledge of the superintendent (*pişpecului*), the prince, or the metropolitan (*vlădicăi*)." In: Cipariu, *Acte şi fragmente*, 264. Cf. Lupaş, *Istoria bisericească*, 84.

[36] Nicolae Dobrescu, *Fragmente privitoare la istoria bisericii române* [Fragments on the History of the Romanian Church] (Budapest, 1906), 65f.; Andreas Freyberger, *Historica relatio unionis walachicae cum romana ecclesia*, edited by Ioan Chindriş (Cluj-Napoca, 1996); cf. Toader Nicoară, *Transilvania la începuturile timpurilor moderne (1680–1800). Societate rurală şi mentalităţi colective* [Transylvania at the Beginning of the Modern Period (1680–1800). Village Society and Collective Mentalities] (Cluj-Napoca, 2001), 84–85. On the low educational level of the Romanian clergy, see ibid., 95f.

The Lutheran Church and the Transylvanian Saxons

Transylvanian-Saxon historians have largely neglected the 17th century, which from their point of view was an epoch of decline.[37] Journals and other writings of the time show that many in the Transylvanian-Saxon elite viewed the crises in politics in general, in the estate system, and in the towns (for example the siege and conquest of Hermannstadt by Gábor Báthori, who transformed the town into a princely residence) as expressions of divine wrath or even as signs of the imminent Last Judgment.[38] Against this background the religious life of the Lutheran Transylvanian-Saxon communities during the three decades between 1660 and 1690 was characterized, on the one hand, by holding fast to traditions and the "pure teaching," for example, by repeated reference to the Augsburg Confession at the synod in July 1666,[39] by differentiation from the Calvinists (which was also emphasized at synods in 1666 and 1676),[40] and by institutionalized offers to the community, such as an increased number of worship services and guidelines for strict fasting. On the other hand, these communities experienced expressions of individual piety, which sometimes reached a broader public either via the pulpit or through written texts. Heretical sermonizing was of course vigorously suppressed, as in the case of Johann Bayer, preacher in Kronstadt, who was sanctioned for teaching allegorical interpretations of church dogma and claiming that the external church was less important than the inner, "God-given spirit."[41] As for texts, a number

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[37] This aspect has been detailed by Edit Szegedi in her *Geschichtsbewusstsein und Gruppenidentität*.

[38] Cf. to this paragraph also ibid., 36f.

[39] "Proinde his articulus communi calculo conditus et approbatus est: Quoniam observavimus a tempore reformationis varias confessiones districtis temporibus esse editas, quarum quaedam orthodoxam, quod heterodoxam doctrinam in proscenium ecclesiarum nostrarum invexerunt, statuit s. synodus, ut dimissis omnibus aliis confessionibus sola invariata Aug. Conf., prout in formula concordiae explicata et vindicata est, habeatur pro publico ecclesiarum nostrarum symbolo." In: Teutsch, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Siebenbürgen*, vol. 1, 503.

[40] "Assurgit clar. dom. Prodecanus Coron. ac de varietate et dissonantia ecclesiarum nostrarum prolixe conqueritur, […] ac ut certi quid hac de se statuatur artesque imprimis ac insidiae Calvinistae studiose caveantur, graviter monet." In: ibid.

[41] Branded a heretic and "Quaker" (in the sense of "Pietist"), Bayer was forced to recant publicly on December 1677 in St. John's Church in Kronstadt, "in the presence of two pastors and three town councilmen before a congregation so large that it spilled out of the church and into the path of wagons in the alley […], and Mr. Bayer himself read a written account of his errors, retracted and condemned them, and in that same hour, after confession and repentance, was absolved from the sins of false teaching and received communion from the honorable Mr. Mark. Draud." From: "Tagebuch

Hermannstadt (Engraving by A. H. Payne, detail. Courtesy of the Siebenbürgisches Museum Gundelsheim)

of diaries by Lutheran laypeople refer to the necessity of penance and repentance, as does a sequence of entries in the chronicle of Trostfried Hegenitius from 1660.[42]

In Transylvania, as elsewhere, the rise of a lay piety separate from theological discourse was at first a result of the increasing remoteness of the church from the needs of the believers. The prefaces that Transylvanian editors wrote for local editions of the classics of devotional literature by such authors as Heinrich Müller, Lewis Bayly, and Thomas a Kempis give a good picture of the formalization of faith among the Translvanian Saxons. Thus the following example from a preface to Heinrich Müller's Moments of Spiritual Refreshment (1681):[43]

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des Johannes Stamm, gemeiner Wortmann, wie auch cronstädtischen Leinwebers," in *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen*, vol. 6 (Kronstadt, 1915), 201; for more on Bayer, see Schuller, *Der evangelisch-sächsische Pfarrer*, 108; Wagner, *Die Pfarrer und Lehrer der Evangelischen Kirche*, 139. Another contemporary journal informs on the provenance of Bayer's "false teaching": "Johannes Bajer Coronensis Lubecae in Germania Quackerorum, ut vocantur, venendo infectus rediit in Patriam, ubi errores convictus palimodiam publice cecivit." In: "Chronistische Aufzeichnungen aus der Matrikel des Honterusgymnasiums," in *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt*, vol. 5, 28.

[42] "In this and the two following nights it is said that in the Szekler lands and in various other places clear and terribly loud voices in the air were heard to cry: 'Jesus! Jesus!' Then great roars and poundings arose, so aligned against each other as two mighty armies doing battle." From Trostfried Hegenitius, "Chronik (1660)," in ibid., 223. Cf. Szegedi, *Geschichtsbewusstsein und Gruppenidentität*, 39.

[43] Cf. ibid., 43–44.

"For most Christians, religion and even faith [are] nothing but delusion and only an appearance, so that one should not be without religion and be taken for an atheist." This diagnosis was confirmed a few years later by the town pastor of Kronstadt, Marcus Fronius, when, in a sharply worded assessment of the situation of the church at the beginning of the 18th century, he wrote of the church's decline, of slackening religious fervor, of religious indifference.[44] A half century earlier sermons had still incorporated contemporary conditions in theological reflections, provided examples of learned rhetoric, and pursued the goal of religious and moral guidance. Furthermore, a sermon given in 1650 by Andreas Oltard, on the occasion of a visitation by the bishop Christian Barth, eloquently expressed the increasing interdependence of the two pillars of worldly (Nationsuniversität) and religious (Geistliche Universität) power: Oltard dedicated his sermon to the worldly authority of the *natio Saxonica* and called on it to exercise its patrimonial rights, so that the Lutheran Church may remain a viable institution.[45]

At Lutheran synods in the 1660s and 1670s the clergy discussed the services they had to render to the state (Apafi freed the Lutheran clergy from the obligation to provide war carriages in 1674) and the tithes paid to the church by the laity. The regulation and extent of episcopal law and the location of the bishop's seat were also frequent topics of discussion.[46] On these last two points confrontations flared up repeatedly between the religious and secular authorities of the Saxon territories. When the Lutheran bishop Haas was elected to serve concurrently as town pastor of Hermannstadt in 1684 and wanted to accept the election, which would have meant transferring the episcopal seat from Birthälm (where

[44] Fronius's analysis and suggested solutions for the crisis of the Church and religious life may be found in Marcus Fronius, "Visitationsbüchlein," in his *Leben und Schriften*, edited by Julius Gross (Braşov, 1925), 305f.; Marcus Fronius, "Von der zum Himmel führenden heimlichen und verborgenen Weisheit," in ibid., 8f.; Marcus Fronius, "Einleitung und Notae zu D. Martin Luthers Kleinem Katechismus," in ibid., 228f. Cf. Szegedi, *Geschichtsbewusstsein und Gruppenidentität*, 45.

[45] The church's monopoly on salvation, however, was kept intact. Ibid., 42. Oltard's oration, which also delves into the history of the Reformation in Hermannstadt, is one of the most important of the Transylvanian-Saxon sermons that have been preserved from the 17th century. Other examples are two sermons by Jakob Schnitzler, the "organ sermon" (given in 1673 at the dedication of the new organ in Hermannstadt) and the "sermon on the comet" (given in 1681 on the comet of 1680 and including descriptions of contemporary scientific theories); and Georg Brenner's farewell sermon at Schellenberg (1686). In: Teutsch, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Siebenbürgen*, 548f., 551f.

[46] See ibid. 496f on this paragraph.

it had been since 1592) to the political capital of the *natio Saxonica*, Haas was supported in this intention by the Nationsuniversität, but the church leadership (the Geistliche Universität, as well as—for church political reasons—the Hermannstadt chapter) was opposed.[47] Shortly after the death of the bishop, who had eventually declined the seat in Hermannstadt, the electoral synod of November 1686 (at which Michael Pankratius was elected bishop) decided that Birthälm should remain the seat of the bishopric, "as long as both Universities desire this."[48] Disputes over competency between the spiritual and religious authorities were commonplace in the *natio Saxonica* of the 1670s and 1680s. Of the numerous surviving documents on these matters, one letter in particular, dated 26 December 1671 and sent to the Saxon *comes*, is worth mentioning. In it the ecclesiastical chapter of Kronstadt defends the clergy's right to punish, including the right to inflict banishment without consent of the secular authorities.[49] In 1684 the synod addressed the Nationsuniversität again with, among other things, an eleven-point catalogue of charges that also dealt with the rights of the clerical estate. The Nationsuniversität, for its part, countered with its own list of charges: The clergy's criticism of the secular side for wearing luxurious clothing should be directed toward the clergy themselves (especially their wives), and as for the clergy's reproach that the Nationsuniversität had not contributed to the construction of pastoral buildings, the secular body responded by pointing to the pastors' obligation to do their own building, which had been enacted already in 1560.[50]

Church Visitations

Bishop Adami was pressed to carry out a new round of visitations when he was elected in 1666, and he began to arrive at the parishes of

[47] Already in 1666 similar ambiguities surrounded the election of Stefan Adami as bishop (1666–1679). Birthälm had just elected another clergyman to be pastor and the election had to be cancelled, since the Lutheran bishop was automatically also pastor of the locality of the seat, that is, Birthälm. Also at the electoral synod of 1666 a process was adopted explicitly for the purpose of avoiding such embroilments in the future.

[48] Ibid., 500.

[49] In closing the writer finds, with resignation, "that it would be desirable if the honorable politicians and ecclesiastics would always be in accord on just matters, as David and Solomon […] were in accord with their prophets and priests. But the wickedness of devils and of men has always been so great, as the biblical and the church historians have amply reported." In ibid., 502.

[50] Ibid.

his diocese. The results (and the punishments) of this fourth general church visitation went along the same lines as fifteen years earlier.[51] It is also known that on this occasion (1667) the pastors of the Unterwald chapter were told to start keeping records of baptisms and weddings, and to compile an index of church property. Adami's successor, Baussner (1669–1682), conducted his own church visitation, the records for which show that Orthodox Romanians, who had settled into the originally Transylvanian-Saxon villages after the German-speaking inhabitants were decimated by the wars and plagues of the 17th century, were also summoned. They were sanctioned with monetary fines (for example in Tschappertsch, for "defaming the Lutheran religion") and time in jail (for armed assault on a Lutheran pastor). Furthermore, they were obliged to maintain the Lutheran church. An Orthodox clergyman was called to account for holding a memorial dinner (pomană) on Sunday, to which the sanctioned party replied by pointing out the "mandate of his supervising office." Another fine concerned a young Saxon maidservant who had danced with Romanians. She was fined three pounds of wax and warned that a repeated offense would get her placed in the stocks.[52]

Finale

Transylvania joined the Holy League even before the re-conquest of Buda (on 2 September 1686). On 28 June a peace treaty was signed by the princely emissary János Haller, the imperial chancellor Theodor Heinrich Strattmann, and the president of the war council, Hermann von Baden, in which Transylvania, now part of the Holy Crown of Hungary, recognized the supreme authority of Emperor Leopold I. In return the latter promised (among other things) the free election of the prince and the continuation of all religious and political privileges. An Ottoman counteroffensive in previously Turkish-occupied Hungary and the ensuing advance of imperial troops in the autumn of 1687, which reached Transylvania under the leadership of Karl von Lothringen, ushered in the final and lasting incorporation of the Principality into

[51] The last visitation of Lutheran parishes in Transylvania had been carried out in 1650–51 by bishop Christian Barth. "Perhaps the morals had become even worse, the unruliness sometimes greater," writes Teutsch. In: Teutsch, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Siebenbürgen*, 494. On this paragraph, see ibid., 494f.

[52] Ibid., 495.

the Habsburg sphere of domination. General Antonio Caraffa, named military commandant of Transylvania at the beginning of 1688, governed the country de facto for the next two years and collected taxes by means of military force.[53] After the death of Apafi on 15 April 1690 the Sublime Porte named Imre Thököly as his successor. Thököly led an army of only 6000 men to Transylvania in August 1690, taking the Habsburg troops by surprise. At the Diet of Grossau he was elected prince. Following tradition, he confirmed the freedoms of the recognized religious communities and the privileges of the three *nationes*. In the time that followed, he signaled his readiness to ally himself with the Holy League, provided that his princely status was recognized. In view of a strong counteroffensive by the grand vizier Mustafa Köprülü on the Balkan Peninsula in early October 1690 (Belgrade fell on 6 October), the imperial general Ludwig von Baden decided to expand his presence in Transylvania and forced Thököly out of the country on 25 October. At the end of 1690 Leopold, after negotiations with a Transylvanian delegation led by count Miklós Bethlen, issued a general state constitution for Transylvania, the Diploma Leopoldinum. After revisions the document was signed on 4 December 1691.[54] Article 1 assured the four *religiones receptae* of their freedoms and properties, and Article 2 assured the estates of the continued enjoyment of their privileges and titles.[55]

The incorporation of the Principality into the Habsburgian imperial federation, however, almost immediately affected the ethnic-denominational constellation in the region. The Catholic Church, whose influence had been steadily growing in the last decades, became a decisive force after the change in the power structure: Already in 1690 representatives of the *status catholicus* (led by István Apor) had reached an agreement with the Reformed Church leadership concerning the return of church properties. After 1692 the so-called Transylvanian Council in Vienna directed a vigorous campaign of re-Catholicization. Its initial, startling success would be the founding of the Greek-Catholic Church of the Transylvanian Romanians, which emerged from a formal ecclesiastical union of a majority of the Orthodox Church in Transylvania with the Roman Catholic Church.

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[53] Köpeczi, *Erdély története,* vol. 2, 869f.

[54] Cf. Volkmer, *Das Fürstentum Siebenbürgen,* 199–203.

[55] Rolf Kutschera, "Die Loslösung Siebenbürgens von der türkischen Oberhoheit," *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 11/1 (1988), 73–81; Paul W. Roth, "Das Diploma Leopoldinum. Vorgeschichte, Bestimmungen," in Lengyel, *Siebenbürgen in der Habsburgermonarchie*, 1–11.

CHAPTER TEN

DENOMINATIONAL TOLERATION AND CONFESSIONALIZATION

Legislation and Religious Toleration in Transylvania

Preliminary Remarks

Beginning with Ludwig Binder and continuing to the present day, the relevant literature[1] has treated Transylvania's laws on religion, which were very liberal for early modern Europe, as the result of two specific features: the country's internal political structure and its situation in international politics. On the one hand, the autonomy and the equality

[1] Among the small body of works that span multiple denominations in the history of religions in the Principality, Ludwig Binder's study of religious toleration in Transylvania is of outstanding importance: Ludwig Binder, *Grundlagen und Formen der Toleranz in Siebenbürgen bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne, 1976). A somewhat divergent finding on the Transylvanian development is reached by Ekkehard Völkl, "Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der konfessionellen Toleranz, dargestellt am Beispiel Siebenbürgens im 16. Jahrhundert," in *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 4 (1972), 46–60. Other works concerning religious toleration in Transylvania are: Lajos Rácz, "Vallási türelem Erdély- és Magyarországon [Religious Toleration in Transylvania and Hungary]," *Protestáns Szemle* 46 (1934), 198–204; Gábor Barta, "A tolerancia társadalmi gyökerei: Erdély a 16. században [The Social Roots of Toleration: Transylvania in the 16th Century]," in Ambrus Miskolczy (ed.), *Europa. Balcanica-Danubiana-Carpathica* (Budapest, 1995), 102–111; Ágnes Várkonyi, "Pro quiete regni—For the Peace of the Realm: The 1568 Law on Religious Tolerance in the Principality of Transylvania," *Hungarian Quarterly* 34 (1993), 58–68; the chapter on "Confessional Toleration and Confessional Rivalry" in Graeme Murdock's *Calvinism on the Frontier*, 110–142; Krista Zach, "Religiöse Toleranz und Stereotypenbildung in einer multikulturellen Region." See also the essays in Ole Peter Grell and Bob Scribner, *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation* (Cambridge, 1996), especially the contributions of Katalin Péter, "Tolerance and Intolerance in Sixteenth-Century Hungary" (249–261) and Michael G. Müller, "Protestant Confessionalisation in the Towns of Royal Prussia and the Practice of Religious Toleration in Poland-Lithuania" (262–281) in that volume. The region is treated only tangentially in Henry Kamen, *Toleranz und Intoleranz zwischen Reformation und Aufklärung* (Munich, 1967), 200–202; Heinrich Lutz (ed.), *Zur Geschichte der Toleranz und Religionsfreiheit* (Darmstadt, 1977), 67, 466; Peter F. Barton (ed.), *Im Lichte der Toleranz* (Vienna, 1981). Cf. Zach, "Zur Geschichte der Konfessionen" and Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier*, 110–142. The concept of "religious toleration" is admittedly problematic, since it emerged in its present meaning only in the 18th century. For a discussion of the concept, see Hartmut Zinser, *Markt der Religionen* (Munich, 1997), 15–32.

of the three estates (*nationes*) that were the pillars of the Principality had been assured since the 14th century by assemblies of the legislative body they constituted, the Diet. After the Principality was formed in 1541 (especially in its first three decades, but continuing after that as well) concerns for the new state's stability resulted in a de facto moratorium on legislative measures to oppose the evolving multi-denominational situation.[2] But beyond this self-restraint, the Diet repeatedly confirmed the legal equality of the *religiones receptae* within the framework of the country's estates by issuing decrees: in 1557 equal rights for Catholic and the Lutheran *religiones*; in 1564 the same for the Reformed (Calvinist) *religio*; in 1571 equal status for the Antitrinitarians (Unitarians) as well.[3] On the other hand, this imperative to strengthen the state structure resulted from the other specific feature: Transylvania's geo-political situation and foreign policy. Formally under Ottoman suzerainty, a series of rulers demonstrated tendencies toward a decidedly autonomous foreign policy and navigated between the spheres of influence of the Habsburg Empire and the Sublime Porte.

Before giving a concise summary and a closer analysis of the step-by-step "reception" of each newly created religious movement, we will begin with a brief review of the Principality's relationship to the Ottoman Empire during the Reformation, and so explore one of the preconditioning factors for the evolution of Transylvania's particular situation with respect to religious policy.

Under Ottoman Suzerainty

After the Battle of Mohács and the occupation of the Hungarian capital Buda in 1526, Sultan Suleiman I, the "Magnificent" (1520–1566), refrained at first from placing Hungary under Ottoman administration. Troops sent by the Sublime Porte advanced again in 1529.[4] Their subsequent withdrawal was followed by the three-way division of the Kingdom of Hungary in 1541, by which the eastern province,

[2] Volker Leppin, "Siebenbürgen: ein kirchenhistorischer Sonderfall von allgemeiner Bedeutung," in Leppin, *Konfessionsbildung und Konfessionskultur*, 7–13, here 11.

[3] Zach, "Anmerkungen zur Konfessions- und Religionsgeschichte Siebenbürgens," 160.

[4] Josef Matuz, "Der Verzicht Süleymans des Prächtigen auf die Annexion Ungarns," *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 6 (1974/75), 38–46.

Transylvania ("Erdel" in Ottoman documents), became a tributary principality.[5] The agreement was fixed in writing by the peace treaty of 1547 between the rulers of the house of Habsburg and Suleiman, but it would not last long; just a few years later Ferdinand began negotiations with Izabella, the mother of János II Zsigmond, with the aim of a Habsburg takeover of Transylvania. The Sublime Porte consequently sent a series of missives to the Transylvanian estates, political dignitaries, and the towns, in which warnings were given against renouncing submission.[6] The Habsburg occupation in the first half of the 1550s was then swiftly ended by the determined Ottoman intervention of 1556. In later decades as well, no revolt was tolerated against the princes supported by Constantinople, moreover *all* elected rulers (Transylvania became an electoral principality in 1567) had to be confirmed by the Sultan, who considered himself supreme lord over the tributary country.[7]

A comparison with the Ottoman-occupied areas in southern and central Hungary will help give an idea of the exceptional latitude enjoyed by the Principality. Although the populations in the mentioned areas enjoyed certain freedoms, limitations were imposed on them: The main churches in the conquered towns were turned into mosques; non-Muslims in the neighborhood of mosques were relocated; church music and the ringing of bells were prohibited. As a rule, the Ottoman administration did not interfere with the internal affairs of the churches, except in the case of disputes between local rival church communities. In some cases the occupying authorities simply closed a church when its use was disputed by two or more denominations.[8]

Transylvania was never subjected to direct Ottoman administration. There was no continuous presence of Ottoman authorities and

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[5] Cf. Ernst D. Petritsch, "Das Osmanische Reich und Siebenbürgen im Reformationszeitalter," in Leppin, *Konfessionsbildung und Konfessionskultur*, 15–55.

[6] Ernst D. Petritsch, *Regesten der osmanischen Dokumente im Österreichischen Staatsarchiv,* vol. 1: 1490–1575 (Vienna, 1991), 68f.; Anton C. Schaendlinger (ed.), *Die Schreiben Süleymans des Prächtigen an Vasallen, Militärbeamte, Beamte und Richter aus dem Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv zu Wien* (Vienna, 1986), Nr. 9–30.

[7] On the amount of tribute paid, see Georg Müller, *Die Türkenherrschaft in Siebenbürgen. Verfassungsrechtliches Verhältnis Siebenbürgens zur Pforte 1541–1688* (Hermannstadt, 1923), 13f.

[8] Overall the Protestants evaluated the religious-political situation in these areas as better than in the lands occupied by the Habsburgs. See for example Klaus Schwarz, "Die Türken als Hoffnung der deutschen Protestanten zur Zeit des Interims," in *Europa und der Orient 800–1900. Lesebuch* (Berlin, 1989), 51–55.

therefore no interference in domestic affairs. Under these conditions the religious life in the Principality could unfold without hindrance from Constantinople. As already suggested, however, *the fact* that the Principality was dependent on the Ottomans in its foreign policy—all the while striving to keep its options open—did have ramifications for domestic policy and also for the religious affairs in the country.

Religious Affairs in the Decrees of the Diet: 1542–1571

The Diet of Torda in March 1542 should be considered first. Although no questions relating directly to religious developments in the country were discussed there, the decrees that were adopted would indeed help to shape subsequent legislation on religion. The Diet renewed the political union of the three estates and confirmed the right of the *nationes* to regulate their internal affairs by calling estate assemblies (*congregatio*, *universitas, conflux*).[9] Later, questions relating to religious policy as well would be counted among these "internal affairs."[10] As early as 1544, also at Torda, the Principality's legislative assembly reacted to steps that had already been made toward Reformation and decreed that "everyone should accommodate the edification of his neighbor."[11] Other future decisions on religious policy were adumbrated at this Diet, for example when it stipulated that "no one shall dare to renew anything in religious affairs."[12] The decrees of 1544 were repeated in 1548, with allusion to imminent decisions in the German lands of the Holy Roman Empire. Three years later, against the background of armed conflicts in the country, the assembly decided to let religious matters wait until the end of the war.[13] However, the minutes of the Diet of the following year (1552) contain a reference to a decree that was adopted in Martinuzzi's time, namely that everyone shall be allowed to remain in the faith that "had been given him by God."[14] (It should be noted that this *quilibet* refers to the estates, not to individuals.) From the resolutions of 1552

[9] Teutsch, *Urkundenbuch*, vol. 1, 68.
[10] On this paragraph cf. Binder, *Grundlagen und Formen der Toleranz*, 45–98; Zach, "Zur Geschichte der Konfessionen."
[11] Teutsch, *Urkundenbuch*, vol. 1, 83: "[…] sed quisque per omnia se ad aedificationem proximi accomodet."
[12] "[…] nemo aliquid innovare audeat." In: ibid.
[13] Ibid., 84. Binder, *Grundlagen und Formen der Toleranz*, 48.
[14] Ibid., 49. Printed in: Szilágyi, *Monumenta Comitialia*, vol. 1, 382.

Marosvásárhely (Székelyvásárhely) (Engraving by Knopfmacher, after a drawing by L. Rohbock. Courtesy of the Siebenbürgisches Museum Gundelsheim)

it became clear that two *religiones* were at issue here, the Lutheran and the "Papist," and that the latter was apparently on the defensive in several regions, for it was decreed that Catholics may not be attacked. At the same time a decision was made concerning a dispute between the religious communities in the town of Marosvásárhely to the effect that the followers of Luther were officially permitted to hold their worship service in St. Elizabeth's church.[15]

After the return of the ruling family to Gyulafehérvár and the confiscation of the Catholic see's properties, a series of Diets were held in relatively rapid succession whose decrees not infrequently referred to imminent or already adopted synodal enactments. The Diet of Torda in June 1557 decreed that "everyone shall practice the faith he desires, with new or with old ceremonies" (again, relating to corporative religious freedoms within the estates) and that the adherents (*sectatores*) of the new faith should not harass those of the old faith, etc.[16] The enactments

[15] Teutsch, *Urkundenbuch*, vol. 1, 84.

[16] Ibid., 85: "ut quisque teneret eam fidem quam vellet cum novis et antiquis ceremoniis, permittentes in negocio fidei eorum arbitrio id fieri quod ipsis liberet citratamen iniuriam quorumlibet ne nove religionis sectatores veterum professionem lacesserent aut illius sectatoribus fierent modo iniurii".

of this Diet also contain indications of controversies among the representatives of the new directions; it was further decreed that the estates convene a general synod at which the clergy should hold council concerning the valid teaching and—what is especially important—should decide this question,[17] which was actually done the following month in Kolozsvár (the Kolozsvár Consensus).

At two Diets in 1558 (Torda and Gyulafehérvár) the decrees already enacted were confirmed: Everyone could profess the faith he desired, whether "Papist" or Lutheran, and defamation on either side was prohibited.[18] In Torda the decree was amended to the effect that "the sect of the Sacramentarians [that is, Calvinists] […] is to be prevented and abolished in keeping with the expert finding of the Church of Wittenberg."[19] In Gyulafehérvár, the former seat of the Catholic bishop, the decrees adopted so far were all upheld, but the terminology was changed; "Papist" was replaced by "old,"[20] and the prohibition of other (third) forms of religion was justified differently: They might arouse unrest and indignation.

The intensifying disputes within the Protestant camp resulted in a decree of the Diet in November 1560 (at Torda)[21] calling for a public disputation in Mediasch in February of the following year, at which both influential noblemen (from the *natio Hungarica*) and representatives of the *natio Saxonica* would be present, the two sides that were involved in the religious dispute.[22] Since this disputation did not produce an acceptable result in the eyes of the representatives of the estates, the Diet in January 1564 decreed a further debate, this time to be overseen by a royal council. The different positions of the competing parties (representatives of the "Hungarian" and "Saxon" churches) are characterized in the documents by reference to their version of communion: on the

[17] Ibid., 86. "The edict…assumes that the synodal decision, which should be made in the presence of influential secular authorities, will be legally binding." In: Binder, *Grundlagen und Formen der Toleranz*, 55.

[18] "[…] eam quam vellet papisticam videlicet aut lutheranam religionem profiteretur […]" In: Szilágyi, *Monumenta Comitialia*, vol. 2, 93.

[19] "Sacramentariorum quoque sectam arceri et pro Judicio ecclesiae Wittembergensis proxime sub chirographo Philippi Melanchthonis adducto tolli censet." In: Teutsch, *Urkundenbuch*, vol. 1, 87.

[20] Szilágyi, *Monumenta Comitialia*, vol. 2, 98: "Datur enim libertas amplectendi antiquam religionem una cum ceremoniis et ritibus antiquis, vel Lutheranam fidem juxta ecclesiae Witebergensium institutionem."

[21] Ibid., 187.

[22] Binder, *Grundlagen und Formen der Toleranz*, 76.

one side those professing the real presence of the body of Christ, on the other those who understood communion as a symbol.[23] After the discontinuation of the debates in Enyed, the Diet at Torda (4 to 11 June 1564) determined that the differences in opinion were insuperable and decreed that each community was free to align itself either with the "Klausenburg/Kolozsvár" (Calvinist, predominantly Hungarian) or with the "Hermannstadt" (Lutheran, predominantly Transylvanian-Saxon) Church.[24] The Diets of the following years continued along the same lines as before in religious affairs: dogmatic and institutional developments that were already *faits accomplis* were acknowledged and provided with a legal basis. In this process the various religious groups were seldom named outright, rather the formulations remain—at first glance—quite indeterminate and reveal their full meaning only in retrospect, when they are projected against the background of the synodal negotiations, religious debates, and the formulations of expert opinions by foreign authorities, all of which were being produced at the same time.

In January 1568 the Diet of Torda adopted a decree on religion in which the freedom of the sermon was emphasized, but also the freedom of belief.[25] The decree stated that preachers were allowed to proclaim the gospel according to their own understanding without fear of punishment by the church or another authority, and the congregation received the right to reject a clergyman if he did not suit them.[26] One year later this law was confirmed in Mediasch.[27] Religious affairs were a high priority at the Diet of Marosvásárhely in 1571: The first article of the decrees enacted there contained, in addition to the repetition of already familiar

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[23] Teutsch, *Urkundenbuch*, vol. 1, 89f.: "[…] tam corporis realis in coena praesentiae professores, quam hi qui Sacramentarii vocantur et coenam pro signo tantum asseverant."

[24] Szilágyi, *Monumenta Comitialia*, vol. 2, 231f.

[25] Teutsch, *Urkundenbuch*, vol. 1, 94f.; Binder, *Grundlagen und Formen der Toleranz*, 89–91.

[26] The lack of conclusiveness in the enactment has been pointed out by Ludwig Binder: When a preacher cannot be dismissed from his position because of his teaching, but the congregation no longer wants him as pastor, then he has actually already been removed from that position. Moreover, if here again it is emphasized that church leaders must tolerate every kind of sermon, and, since 1564, two Protestant tendencies may be viewed as "received," then the (already quite numerous) promulgators of Antitrinitarian teachings are thereby placed equally under protection. Further evidence for this may be found in writs of protection that were offered by Biandrata to Lutheran clergymen, if they were willing to preach the Unitarian faith. In: ibid., 90.

[27] Teutsch, *Urkundenbuch*, vol. 1, 95.

formulations, the concise statement that no one may be abused because of his denominational affiliation (*confessio*), and that God's word may be proclaimed freely everywhere.[28] This was the last Diet during the life of *rex electus* János II Zsigmond, who had been showing Antitrinitarian tendencies in the past two to three years, and it marked the end of a period in which three distinctly different Protestant tendencies had been articulated and had attained varying degrees of advancement in denominational formation and institutionalization.

The decrees that have been described here seem at first glance to reflect the efforts of the legislature to avoid conflict and to soften the edges of the evolving denominational grid. On closer examination, however, and taking into account the developmental patterns of the theological dynamics that were unfolding in Transylvania in those decades, it becomes clear that the legislative assemblies were not so much taking action as simply reacting. Synods, assemblies of the estates, decisions by municipal magistrates and visionary individuals were the real driving forces of the Reformation in the Principality. With its retroactive and vaguely affirmative decrees on religious matters the Diet followed trends that had been set by developments within the ranks of the estates.

More concrete and less liberal seem those pieces of legislation from the Diets held in this period that concerned the Romanians living in the Principality, who constituted a numerically significant part of the Transylvanian population, enjoyed no corporative privileges, and were not represented in the Diet. When in the mid-1560s the order went out to win the Romanian population of the counties over to Calvinism, the impulse did not come from municipal magistrates, but from the prince and the Diet. The prince appointed a Romanian Calvinist bishop in 1566 in the person of Gheorghe of Sîngeorgiu/Sîngeorz, and on November 30 of the same year the Diet enacted severe measures against all those who refused to come over to the "true faith"; they were to be banished from the country.[29] When the new bishop complained of the

[28] Ibid., 96.

[29] "The Romanians shall acquit themselves of heresy more emphatically; since their priests are blind, they direct and lead their people as blind men into the abyss. Those who do not want to hear the truth shall, on orders of the prince, debate the Bible with the bishop and the superintendent Gheorghe; if however they still do not wish to come over to the true faith […], so shall they be banished from the country. The entire people shall listen only to bishop Gheorghe and to the priests whom he has

Talmesch (Tălmaciu) (Engraving by J. Poppel, after a drawing by L. Rohbock. Courtesy of the Siebenbürgen-Institut Gundelsheim)

insubordination of numerous Romanian clergy, the prince assigned officials to monitor the use of the vernacular in the worship service. The course of the Reformation among the Transylvanian Romanians was watched closely by the political authorities; the Diet of Torda in 1568 ascertained that there were still many Romanians in the country who "followed their old popes."[30]

After 1571

If one reads through the enactments of the Diet in search of the foundation stone of liberal legislation on religion in the Principality of Transylvania, the decree of the Diet of Torda in 1557 stands out, in which the autonomous authority of the estates in religious questions was explicitly confirmed.[31] These guidelines were taken up in modified and

chosen; but whoever harasses them will be viewed as a traitor." In: Moisescu, *Istoria bisericii române*, vol. 1, 364. Cf. Zach, *Orthodoxe Kirche*, 149–183, here 168; Binder, *Grundlagen und Formen der Toleranz*, 116–123.

[30] Moisescu, *Istoria bisericii române*, vol. 1, 365.

[31] Binder, *Grundlagen und Formen der Toleranz*, 148.

more precise forms in subsequent assemblies of the Diet until 1572. The literature on this subject treats the year 1571 as the pinnacle of religious toleration in Transylvania, especially with respect to the Protestant groups.[32] It must not be forgotten, however, that both before and after this date a number of decrees by the Diet contained prohibitions of religious innovation, prohibitions that were—more often than not—quite in line with the interests of the already established denominations.[33] At Pentecost 1572 the Diet of Torda enacted a new ban on innovation, this time at the behest of the Catholic prince István Báthori, who had noticed with alarm—so the minutes report—innovative tendencies among the ranks of the radical Protestants. The decree stipulates that, prior to the punishment of a person suspected of innovation, the prince must first confer with the church leaders, who were assigned the task of determining whether the opinion or action in question was still within the bounds of recognized church teaching.[34]

Since 1576 the laws concerning religious affairs (including those on religious innovation) formed part of the electoral concessions (*conditiones principum*) negotiated by the Diet with the designated successor to the throne.[35] Thus, over the three and a half decades from 1542 to 1576, decisions taken by the Diet concerning the equal status and (mutual) toleration of four *religiones* had crystallized into a fundamental law of the land. The law on religions had a prominent position among the electoral concessions; it was the first article. When Gábor Báthori acceded to the throne in 1608, the *conditiones* stated that the freedom of religion was to be granted "as it was in the time of prince [János II] Zsigmond."[36]

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[32] Of course, it has to be pointed out that for roughly one and a half centuries the Catholics had no bishop in the country and that the Diet of Torda in 1557, for instance, limited the mobility of the Catholic priests so that they were not allowed to enter such Calvinist localities like Debrecen, Nagyvárad, and Borosjenő. See Krista Zach, "Humanismus und Renaissance in Siebenbürgen. Über ihre Voraussetzungen und Wege der Entfaltung in einer Randzone (15.–16. Jahrhundert)," in Zach, *Konfessionelle Pluralität*, 105–149, here 119. Cf. László Révész, "Die helvetische Reformation in Ungarn," *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 4 (1972), 72–100, here 77.

[33] Binder, *Grundlagen und Formen der Toleranz*, 148.

[34] Ibid.

[35] On the *conditiones principum* and legislation in general in the time of the Principality, see also Friedrich Schuler von Libloy, *Siebenbürgische Rechtsgeschichte* (Hermannstadt, 1855); Joseph Bedeus von Scharberg, *Die Verfassung des Grossfürstenthums Siebenbürgen aus dem Gesichtspunkte der Geschichte, der Landesgesetze und des bestehenden öffentlichen Rechtes* (Wien, 1844).

[36] "I.e., that the maximum expression of religious tolerance shall be validated in the

The Transylvanian Diet's articles of law were finally codified in the *Approbatae constitutiones regni Transsilvaniae et partium Hungariae eidem adnexarum*, a collection of Diet decrees from past decades compiled under György I Rákóczi and adopted by the Diet in Gyulafehérvár on 23 January 1653, with the laws on religion in front-most position: Part I, Title I ("On Religious Affairs"), Article 2 confirmed the equal rights of the four recognized religions, "since it serves to preserve the country."[37] Article 3 contained the ban on innovation (with special provision for the "tolerated" Romanians),[38] including a detailed explanation of the procedures to be followed for proposing reforms: For church matters, the general synods were responsible; for decisions relating to the faithful, magistrates and patrons of the relevant church were to be consulted. Article 4 expressly upheld the ban on "Judaizers." The next articles regulated the activities of members of the Catholic orders (except the Jesuits) in the territory of the Principality. They affirmed the Catholic Church's possession of its churches and monasteries (Article 5), and the position of the Reformed Church in Kolozsvár (Article 6). Article 7—with reference to earlier decrees—detailed the arrangements in localities with more than one religious community: The majority community was to receive the main church, while new buildings for the worship services of the other churches were to be erected within a precisely stipulated time.[39] Article 8 stated that nobles and landlords may not force their religion on the inhabitants of the villages on their properties, nor on their house-servants or serfs.[40] Article 9 dealt with

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future as well." In: Robert Csallner, *Quellenbuch zur vaterländischen Geschichte,* part 2 (Hermannstadt, 1950), nr. 43, 181. Cf. to this paragraph Zach, "Zur Geschichte der Konfessionen," 77f.

[37] "The four received *religiones* shall, according to laws duly adopted by the Diet, continue to be received as valid, following the example of our highly esteemed predecessor, since this serves to preserve our country, and the same shall equally be required in the laws of the land and the unions of the estates. The practice of the received *religiones,* namely the Reformed (commonly called the Calvinist), the Lutheran or Augsburgian, the Roman-Catholic, and the Unitarian or Antitrinitarian shall also henceforth be permitted, as prescribed by the laws of the land." In: Herlea, *Constituțiile aprobate ale Transilvaniei*, 47.

[38] "No person of any estate nor any group shall presume to introduce any innovation or schism outside the four received *religiones*." A list of sanctions follows, including the loss of property and the death penalty. "An exception is made for the members of the Wallachian or Greek sect, who are provisionally tolerated, as long as it may please the prince and the population." In: ibid., 47–48.

[39] Ibid., 49–50.

[40] "It has been enacted, that no one may force, through violence or threats, any village, serfs, servants […] to [accept] his religion, and that a landlord who professes

questions of ecclesiastical organization: Bishops stood at the head of the Reformed, Lutheran, and Unitarian churches; leadership of the Catholic Church was in the hands of vicars. All church leaders were to be elected by their respective church assemblies and confirmed by the prince. These leaders and the archpriests would conduct church visitations according to the previous synodal decrees.[41]

Humanistic Influences

The predominantly level-headed management of religious affairs by political decision-makers in the Principality of Transylvania was matched by a clearly discernible openness on the part of the constitutive state powers (princes and estates) to a legal and denominational toleration that was extensive and mutual.[42] A liberal religious climate contributed to the peaceful coexistence of the country's diverse religious communities, and this climate was in no small measure the work of key figures in Transylvania's intellectual history. They certainly warrant some consideration here, in addition to the elaboration of the processes of differentiation—political and legal as well as ethnic and denominational—that the various communities experienced.

It is not surprising that Johannes Honterus's conception of the human being was inspired by that of Erasmus of Rotterdam,[43] considering that a number of Transylvanians in the humanist circle at the court of the queen of Hungary, Maria von Habsburg, had already discussed Erasmian ideas extensively. Among them were Nicolaus Olahus (later the archbishop of Esztergom), Jakob Piso, Albert Huet (the Saxon *comes*), Adrian Wolphard (vicar of the Gyulafehérvár cathedral), and Georg Reicherstorffer, whose partially preserved correspondence, libraries, and readings testify clearly to this tendency.[44] The special-

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to a different religion is prohibited from occupying the town or village church, from importing preachers, from having preachers of a different faith or preachers of his own faith offer worship service, under penalty of a fine of 200 guilders." In: ibid., 50.

[41] Cf. ibid.

[42] In light of the current state of research, the assumption that the balance of political powers within the Principality in the 16th century was a fundamental precondition for the liberal religious legislation can be viewed as substantiated. Cf. to this section Zach, "Humanismus und Renaissance," 120f.

[43] Binder, *Grundlagen und Formen der Toleranz*, 30f.

[44] Ute Monika Schwob, "Siebenbürgische Humanisten am Ofener Jagiellonenhof," in

ized literature of past years has often tried to classify and differentiate the humanist groups in Transylvania. One criterion for classification has been the relationship between Reformation and humanism: Thus Georg Reicherstorffer was pegged as a humanist not associated with the Reformation, while Honterus and Wagner were seen as uniting humanism and Reformation in their persons. Furthermore, the phenomenon of courtly humanism in the episcopal courts of Nagyvárad and Gyulafehérvár (where the most important exponents were Stephan Stieröchsel, Adrian Wolphard, and Anton Verantius) was evaluated as differing from the bourgeois humanism in the towns (represented by Johannes Lebel, Christian Schesaeus, Jakob Piso, the brothers Johann and Sebastian List, and others). Even after 1526 humanists were active outside the Reformation, especially in the chapter of the Gyulafehérvár cathedral.[45] But back to Honterus: His works reflect the Erasmian view that it was incumbent upon the (Christian) state to care for the moral and religious education of its subjects.[46] Without assuming any direct Erasmian influence on the legislation concerning religion that was passed in Transylvania in the 16th century, it is fair to say that in the Principality this task was delegated to the individual estates, while the

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Paul Philippi (ed.), *Siebenbürgen als Beispiel europäischen Kulturaustausches* (Cologne, 1975), 81–90; Ádám Dankanits, "Die Bücher des Nicolaus Olahus," *Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde* 14/1 (1971), 74–77; Ádám Dankanits, *XVI. századi olvasmányok* [Readings from the 16th Century] (Bucharest, 1974), 110f.; Gustav Gündisch, "Die Bibliothek des Sachsengrafen Albert Huet (1537–1607)," *Korrespondenzblatt für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 4 (1974), 32–51; Harald Zimmermann, "Honters Humanismus," *Korrespondenzblatt für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 4 (1974), 5–23; Karl Kurt Klein, "Münster–Honter–Reicherstorffer. Humanistenfreundschaften zwischen Basel, Krakau, Wien und Kronstadt. Ein Beitrag zur Honterus-Forschung," *Südostdeutsche Semesterblätter* 15 (1965), 25–42. On the deep relationship that Hungarian humanists maintained with Erasmus, cf. a recent essay by Christiane Christ-v. Wedel, "Haben die ungarischen Erasmianer auf Erasmus einen Einfluss ausgeübt? Zur Frauen- und Friedensfrage im Werk des Humanisten," in Wien, *Humanismus in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen*, 135–154, especially 135–137. The same volume contains a study of the predominantly humanist readings of the middle classes in the Transylvanian-Saxon towns: Attila Verók, "Über die Bücherverzeichnisse der Siebenbürger Sachsen im 16. Jh.," in ibid., 219–232.

[45] Karl Reinerth, "Humanismus und Reformation bei den Siebenbürger Sachsen," *Südostdeutsches Archiv* 13 (1970), 56–76; Adolf Schullerus, *Luthers Sprache in Siebenbürgen. Forschungen zur siebenbürgischen Geistes- und Sprachgeschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation* (Hermannstadt, 1923), 185; cf. Ulrich A. Wien, "Die Humanisten Johannes Honterus und Valentin Wagner als Vertreter einer konservativen Stadtreformation in Kronstadt," in Leppin, *Konfessionsbildung und Konfessionskultur*, 89–104, here 92f.

[46] Binder, *Grundlagen und Formen der Toleranz*, 22.

prince, the Diets, and the synods contributed to the functioning of the whole by distributing responsibilities in various ways.[47]

Humanistic ideas remained influential into the 1570s among the middle classes of Kolozsvár, where the conceptions of numerous thinkers found fertile ground, often by way of intermediaries from abroad who took refuge in the town and were able to pursue their projects there. Examples include the humanist Johannes Sommer of Pirna, who taught at the Kolozsvár *gymnasium* between 1570 and 1574, disseminating the thought of Jacobus Acontius, and Jacobus Palaeologus, who arrived around the same time from Prague and Kraków and promulgated the ideas of Sebastian Castellio in Kolozsvár.[48] These contacts, in addition to the well-established intellectual ties that Transylvanian humanists maintained with important humanistic centers abroad (Vienna, Kraków, Nuremberg, Basel, Padua, etc.), illustrate the international character of Transylvanian humanism. Other influential figures who might have contributed to the rather tolerant religious atmosphere in Transylvania, whether directly or indirectly (via the reception of their works in the Principality), were Adam Neuser, Matthias Vehe-Glirius, Fausto Sozzini, and Nikolaus Hemmingsen.[49]

"Contextual Confessionalization" in Transylvania

Preliminary Remarks

Even in view of the short duration of the Principality of Transylvania's internal political autonomy, the question of the relationship between confessionalization and the rise of early modern state structures should at least be raised, especially because the national historiographies of the

[47] Zach, "*Humanismus und Renaissance*," 120.

[48] Bernhard Capesius, *Deutsche Humanisten in Siebenbürgen* (Bucharest, 1974), 283–286; Pirnát, *Die Ideologie der Siebenbürger Antitrinitarier*, 17–53; Gustav Gündisch, "Zum siebenbürgischen Aufenthalt des Jacobus Paläologus," *Revue des Études Sud-Est-Européennes* 42 (1966), 71–79. On the influence of the Basel humanists—especially Palaeologus—on Transylvanian Antitrinitarians, see Mihály Balázs, "Fiktion und radikale Dogmenkritik. Neue Aspekte und Beziehungen zwischen den Baseler Humanisten und den Siebenbürger Antitrinitariern im 16. Jahrhundert," in Wien, *Humanismus in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen*, 191–203.

[49] Cf. Zach, "Humanismus und Renaissance," 121, with annotated bibliography.

region's ethnic groups, which have tended to exaggerate the continuities and the significance of this ephemeral political formation for their respective grand narratives, often emphasize the religious component as well. Thus Hungarian historiography has placed Transylvania in a direct continuity with the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, and the long line of Hungarian rulers has been taken as evidence that the politics of this Protestant corporative state was as an instrument for the advancement of Hungarian interests in general.[50] Romanian national historiography, on the other hand, seized on Transylvania's significant Orthodox population to argue that the Principality's statehood meant a disengagement from the realm of the Crown of Saint Stephen and a political step towards the neighboring (Romanian) principalities Wallachia and Moldavia.[51]

National-historiographical appropriations aside, it is factually impossible to speak of the Principality of Transylvania as a continuation of the Hungarian Kingdom under Protestant rulers, or as a "third Romanian country." Despite maintaining relations with the Habsburg empire—see

[50] See for example Köpeczi, *Erdély története*, vol. 1, 446: "Thus Hungarian rulers and Hungarian political leaders determined the destiny of the state that Transylvania has become. In the decades after 1556 the country, which with increasing confidence took its affairs more and more into its own hands, remained what it had become in the bloody decades of its formation, namely the eastern-most remnant of the medieval Hungarian state. Granted, external forces could wrest this area from its motherland, change its political form, and require of its leaders a daring new foreign policy. But these events could not alter the thinking of the leading figures of society, their Hungarian consciousness." For a thorough discussion of questions relating to confessionalization in Transylvania, see Krista Zach, "Stände, Grundherrschaft und Konfessionalisierung in Siebenbürgen. Überlegungen zur Sozialdisziplinierung (1550–1650)," in Bahlcke, *Konfessionalisierung in Ostmitteleuropa*, 367–391; Krista Zach, "Politische Motive und Ursachen der Konfessionalisierung in Siebenbürgen," in Zach, *Konfessionelle Pluralität, Stände und Nation*, 71–82 (reprinted in Leppin, *Konfessionsbildung und Konfessionskultur*, 57–70), on which the following analysis is based. Especially helpful in this regard were Michael G. Müller's concluding remarks on questions of confessionalization in general and in East-Central Europe in particular, which he made at a conference hosted in 1997 by the Center for the History and Culture of East-Central Europe in Leipzig. Instead of "loose confessionalization," "confessionalization to a high degree," or other models in which the developments in East-Central Europe appear as confessionalizations of a secondary type, Müller calls for the use of the neutral concept of "contextual confessionalization." In: Michael G. Müller, "Diskussionsbilanz," in Bahlcke, *Konfessionalisierung in Ostmitteleuropa*, 413–418, here 417.

[51] Andrei Oţetea et al. (eds.), *Istoria României* [History of Romania], vol. 2 (Bucharest, 1961), 800f. Transylvania appears in a number of studies written by Romanian historians as one of the "three Romanian countries."

the treaties of Nagyvárad (1538) and Speyer (1570)—this small state was under almost continuous Ottoman suzerainty between 1541 and 1688/1691, and enjoyed as such, from the perspective of Islamic law, the autonomous status of a *dar al-'ahd*, a "voluntarily subordinated land," regulated by the renewal of treaties. The result was extensive internal autonomy on the basis of a corporative-monarchic dualism. At the same time (beginning around the middle of the 16th century) denominational grids developed within the complex corporative structures that had existed since medieval times, and new groups differentiated themselves. The traditional corporative order remained in place during the entire time of the Principality, a period characterized in large part by continuous Protestant dominance. Precisely the Protestant plurivocality (Calvinist, Lutheran, Unitarian), which was rather progressive for the 16th century and legally anchored by decrees of the Diet, might make questions about the interplay of confessionalization and the rise of the early modern state extremely relevant, were it not for the persistence of the legally and territorially separate *nationes* (estates) and their privileges since the Middle Ages (and continuing basically until 1848). What remains is the established fact of a seemingly quite anachronistic overlap of modern and medieval constitutional, legislative configurations that lasted from the end of the 16th over the entire 17th century, and continued far into the time of the Habsburg Grand-Duchy of Transylvania.[52]

Seen in this light, Heinrich Schmidt's general criticism of statism in the confessionalization paradigm appears justified.[53] In the case of the Principality of Transylvania, the thesis of clear-cut connections between the state and confessionalization processes can be maintained only with difficulty. There was neither a "state confessionalization" nor, on the part of the churches, a close institutional and personal rapprochement with the state. In the complex social-historical processes that extended beyond the mere formation of denominations, numerous (individual and corporative) actors were involved on various structural, social, and political levels. Therefore, in view of the perspectives that must be taken into account here, a single, convenient formulation of this rather inconsistent model does not appear adequate.

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[52] Cf. Zach, "Stände, Grundherrschaft und Konfessionalisierung," 390.

[53] Heinrich Richard Schmidt, "Sozialdisziplinierung? Ein Plädoyer für das Ende des Etatismus in der Konfessionalisierungsforschung," *Historische Zeitschrift* 265 (1997), 639–682.

The Rulers

János I Szapolyai exercised pragmatic restraint in dealing with the religious affairs in his country. The Protestant ideas pressing forcefully into the Principality encountered little resistance from this ruler, probably due less to indifference than to well-founded political considerations. As the potentially disciplining authority he did stand once in the spotlight, when he ordered a religious debate between Catholic church leaders and some representatives of the new religious tendencies. At the end of the disputation, the deviators were not sanctioned—the king had refused from the outset to call the heresy trial demanded by the Catholics. Instead, the Catholic Szapolyai arranged for safe conduct of the hard-pressed Protestants, much to the displeasure of the Catholic prelates.

János II Zsigmond Szapolyai, who—after the regency of his mother—ascended the throne in 1559 at the age of 19, followed the spread of the Reformation in the country attentively, participated actively in religious and church synods, and—a baptized Catholic—joined the Protestant movements in the order of their emergence: He became a Lutheran while still a child, soon afterward converted to Calvinism, and at the end of the 1560s he turned to Antitrinitarianism. Both the Reformed Church and emerging Unitarianism enjoyed his support, but these periods lasted no longer than three or four years each (János Zsigmond died in March 1571, before his 31st birthday), and the royal/princely favor shown to the ruler's own religion did not, as a rule, impede the unfolding of the competing (Protestant) movements.

Once legal equality had been established among the four *religiones receptae* in 1571,[54] none of the Transylvanian princes could fundamentally influence the denominational constellation in the country. The estates were too strong; the political, legal, and ethnic mélange in the small buffer-state sandwiched between two great powers was too heterogeneous and complex; the times were too tumultuous for a responsible ruler to dedicate himself to religious affairs over the long term. The Antitrinitarian János Zsigmond was followed on the throne by Catholic

[54] The denominational designations were not stabilized until the Diet of Gyulafehérvár in 1595. Here the terms 'Catholic' (or 'Roman'), 'Lutheran,' 'Calvinist,' and 'Arian' are used to describe the individual *religiones*. In: Teutsch, *Urkundenbuch*, 101–102. The appellations 'Reformed' (for Calvinist) and 'Unitarian' (for Antitrinitarian/Arian) do not appear in official documents until later.

rulers from the Báthori family, who were certainly at pains to improve the shattered situation of the Transylvanian Catholics by (repeatedly) admitting the Jesuits into the country and founding Catholic schools. But the religious policy of István Báthori, for example, can hardly be characterized exclusively in terms of the Counter-Reformation, with respect to either results or even intentions. Besides a series of measures to contain radical Protestant streams (measures supported by the Protestant Diet), this prince (and later king of Poland) promoted the consolidation of the Transylvanian Orthodox church hierarchy. Zsigmond Báthori proceeded in the same vein, in no small part influenced by an alliance with the Wallachian prince Mihai Viteazul, which made the Transylvanian capital Gyulafehérvár—with its episcopal seat and new monastery—the center of the country's Orthodox Church as well.

At the turn of the 17th century, in a time of unrelenting armed conflicts, signs of a restrictive religious policy were clearly discernible at the highest level of government. However, the temporary prohibitions of Calvinism and Unitarianism, together with the (equally short-lived) elevation of the Orthodox denomination to the status of a *religio recepta* under Mihai Viteazul, and the sanctions imposed on Protestants by the Catholic imperial governors (and their bishop, Náprágyi), who were committed to a radical Counter-Reformation—all these measures remained without lasting effect and were countered during the brief reign of the Reformed rulers Bocskai and Zsigmond Rákóczi. The buildings gained by the Catholics were returned to the Calvinists and Unitarians, but no concerted action was taken against the Catholics; the Orthodox Church sank again to the legal status of a *religio tolerata*, but it received more attention than before and occasionally it was promoted.

Prince Gábor Bethlen espoused Calvinism with renewed vigor. He sponsored scholarships for Transylvanian Reformed theology students to study abroad and increased pressure on the country's Orthodox Romanian inhabitants to turn to Calvinism. At the same time, however, he confirmed Catholic vicars and tolerated the activities of Jesuit missionaries, and during his reign the *status catholicus* became increasingly visible. Calvinism enjoyed a favored position among the four received religious communities, but Bethlen was no more able to impose even the rudiments of a "state confessionalization" than his predecessors (with their various denominational affiliations) had been or than his

(Calvinist) successors would be. The latter—the Rákóczis and Apafi—would also favor Calvinism in the course of the 17th century, but the historically developed system of extensive, multi-denominational parity would endure.[55]

The Estates

The corporative-territorial structures formed in medieval times were the supporting pillars of the Transylvanian state during the early modern period. The *natio Hungarica* may have enjoyed political predominance, especially in the 17th century, but the territorial corporations of the three estates maintained their autonomous administrations and held on to the political authority in their respective regions. The expansion and defense of specific corporative interests and privileges were of eminent significance in the Principality's day-to-day internal politics and contributed decisively to containing the autocracy of the princes.[56] The constitutions that were in force in the respective territories also regulated denominational developments to a large extent. By 1571 at the latest, when large parts of the populations in the three territories had been swept up (to varying degrees) in the emerging Protestant currents—a process that was reflected in the decrees of the Diet as well—the mechanisms by which the prince might have been able to prescribe religious affiliation ceased to exist. To be sure, (Calvinist) rulers did avail themselves of various means (offers of education, economic relief, etc.) to encourage conversion, but they were seldom successful. In fact, in the case of the Transylvanian Romanians, these measures unintentionally

[55] Expressed, for example, by the equal privileges of the clergy of the four *religiones receptae*, and the principle of majority in the use of buildings and prebends, occasionally with the same church being shared by two communities, etc. It was possible to maintain much of this system even after Transylvania was incorporated into the Habsburg Empire in 1688. See Robert J. Evans, "Die Grenzen der Konfessionalisierung. Die Folgen der Gegenreformation für die Habsburgerländer (1650–1781)," Bahlcke, *Konfessionalisierung in Ostmitteleuropa*, 395–412, here 408.

[56] See Konrad G. Gündisch, "Ständische Autonomie und Regionalität im mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Siebenbürgen," in Heinz-Dietrich Löwe, Günther H. Tontsch, and Stefan Troebst (eds.), *Minderheiten, Regionalbewusstsein und Zentralismus in Ostmitteleuropa* (Cologne, 2000), 21–49; Krista Zach, "Fürst, Landtag und Stände. Die verfassungsrechtliche Frage in Siebenbürgen im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 11 (1980/81), 63–90.

resulted over the long term in cultural developments that—exceeding the Calvinizing impetus—represented decisive impulses for the gradual strengthening of a Romanian national consciousness.

Denomination formation played out variously in the three estate territories, with regard to both the actors involved and the collaboration of secular and religious authority. The *natio Saxonica* made an early commitment to the Reformation in the Wittenberg form, embedding it in constitutional and ecclesiastical law, and thus came closest to achieving confessionalization by decree. The corporative representation of the Transylvanian-Saxons, the Nationsuniversität, dominated by urban patricians, was the driving force in the rapid introduction of Lutheranism:[57] It was the Kronstadt town magistrate Johannes Fuchs who, shortly after the first "Protestant masses"[58] in 1542, convened the Burzenland district assembly, which decreed the adoption of the Lutheran teaching for the entire area, and in 1543 commissioned the Reformationsbüchlein. In 1544 the Nationsuniversität called for the standardization of the worship service (which in 1545 was espoused by the highest-ranking representatives of the Transylvanian-Saxon clergy) and in 1547 assigned this task to a committee consisting of clergymen and political dignitaries, who adopted the "Church Order for all Germans in Transylvania." In April 1550 the Nationsuniversität elevated this text to the status of a binding religious guideline for the Transylvanian Saxons.

Estate, territory, denomination, and ethnic group were in this case all largely coextensive, unlike in the counties and in the Szekler territories, where denominational diversity was the rule. Being a member of the *natio Saxonica* gradually came to mean belonging to the Lutheran Church. Deviators were admonished to conform and those who persisted in avowing other creeds could be excluded from their community.[59] Looking at linguistic criteria, however, it soon becomes obvious that the notion of a complete territorial, legal, ethnic, and denominational homogeneity ("the Transylvanian-Saxon Church") was little more than a construct of 19th-century Transylvanian-Saxon historiography: Apart from the fact that since medieval times there had been Romanian and other non-German inhabitants on the Königsboden who

[57] The most recent survey of these events may be found in Gündisch, "Die 'Geistliche Universität'." Cf. for this paragraph ibid., 109f.

[58] *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen*, vol. 4, 504.

[59] Zach, "Stände, Grundherrschaft und Konfessionalisierung," 387.

upheld their Orthodox faith even after the Reformation, there had also been since early times whole non-German settlements among the members of the privileged legal federation of the *Saxones,* settlements that became Lutheran as well upon the decree by the Nationsuniversität.[60] The unity of territory, law, and denomination is further contradicted by those Germans who *did not* belong to the *natio Saxonica*, namely the residents of the land-bound communities of *hospites* in the counties, although these communities also fell under the jurisdiction of the Geistliche Universität. Other Transylvanian Saxons, especially in Kolozsvár and its surrounding area, later became Calvinists and Unitarians, and already by the end of the 16th century they were no longer part of the *natio Saxonica*.[61]

While Lutheranism was the overall denominational norm on the *fundus regius*, the two other estate territories (the Hungarian counties and the Szekler territories) developed into multi-denominational regions in which all of the legally sanctioned *religiones* were represented. Here, as a rule, no regulatory authority intervened at the territorial level in the processes of the Reformation in the 16th century, which raises questions concerning the willingness of the land-owners to introduce and establish their preferred faith, and the extent to which they were able to do so among the people living on their properties. The available data on this subject are very sparse and support only cautious conclusions: Denominational uniformity was not achieved, primarily because

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[60] For more on the "Saxon" Slavs of the Königsboden see Hellmut Klima, "Die Slawen von Reussdörfchen," *Siebenbürgische Vierteljahresschrift* 59 (1936), 10–23; Harald Roth, "Reussdörfchen: A Case Study on the Construction of National Identities in Transylvania," *Siebenbürgische Semesterblätter* 12/1–2 (1998), 77–82; Ernst Wagner, "Nichtdeutsche als Angehörige der evangelischen Landeskirche A.B. in Siebenbürgen," *Siebenbürgischer-sächsischer Hauskalender* 16, (1971), 47–59; more recently, István Keul, "Baustelle Identität. Ethnisch-konfessionelle Mosaiken in Ostmitteleuropa: Siebenbürgische Perspektiven," in Keul, *Religion, Ethnie, Nation und die Aushandlung von Identität(en)*, 165–182.

[61] "The appellation 'Saxon' or 'of the Saxon *natio*' was intended for internal use (in Klausenburg [that is, Kolozsvár]). Thus one and the same person, in a religious debate outside this town, might be counted among the Hungarian *natio*, while in Klausenburg that same person belonged to the Saxon *natio*, stood in its service, and would defend it in case of a conflict." In: Edit Szegedi, "Sächsische Identität im Klausenburg des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 22/1 (1999), 14. The Transylvanian Saxons of Kolozsvár finally separated from their ethnic community as well. Szegedi concludes her essay with the highly accurate remark: "The assimilation of the Transylvanian Saxons of Klausenburg did not depend on their [Calvinist or Unitarian] denomination per se, rather on the position of this denomination within Saxon society [where only the Augsburg Confession was recognized]." In: ibid., 21.

of frequent changes in the ownership of the relatively small properties and the shifts in land-owning families between 1550 and 1650.[62] To be sure, individual figures emerged as promoters of the new teachings, especially in the early Reformation, and even later the denominational affiliation of the landlord could be of decisive importance for his subordinates. Sometimes the combined effects of political and economic fluctuations, changing landlords, and mass migrations resulted in the predominance of a single denomination in some areas for a shorter or longer period. Yet villages with two or more churches seem to have been widespread in the territory of the *natio Hungarica*.[63] Meanwhile the Szekler territories, the legal territorial basis of the *natio Siculica*, whose social structure changed profoundly during the 16th century and progressively approximated in many respects the structure of the counties, were at first little affected by the Reformation, but eventually (especially in the 1570s) experienced its full force. In addition to a few Catholic-dominated villages that remained in the east, all three Protestant faiths established themselves here, with Unitarianism becoming the most important by the end of the century.

Lutheran Confessionalization on the fundus regius: *Continuities and Divergence. Aspects of Social Discipline*

Among the Transylvanian Saxons the new ecclesiastical structures had elements and patterns that were familiar from the modes in which they had already been organizing their churches (*ecclesia propria*) before the Reformation.[64] These structures included the increased participation of the laity in church affairs, such as the election of the pastor and making financial decisions (management of assets). The superordinate, regional-administrative chapters (Kapitel) were also preserved, together with

[62] A number of indigenous noble families (Petrovics, Drágffy, Balassa, Perényi, Kendeffy, Maylád) died out, while properties belonging to the Catholic Church came into the hands of the state administration. From 1556 until after 1630 there were no more great landlords in Transylvania; as late as 1650 approximately 80 percent of the noble families owned parts of one or more villages, usually without possessing other lands. For a detailed overview, see Köpeczi, *Erdély története*, vol. 2, 733f.

[63] On the tensions in multi-denominational villages and the pressure sometimes exerted by landlords on communities of other faiths, see Teutsch, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche*, vol. 1, 511f.

[64] See Gündisch, "Die 'Geistliche Universität'," 112–113.

the competence of their leaders, the deans (Dechanten). To these were added such new features as synods and the office of the superintendent, who was elected at these synods (beginning with Paul Wiener in 1553). The year 1572 was a milestone in the history of the Lutheran Church in Transylvania: In June, at the behest of István Báthori, the Augsburg Confession was adopted as the binding norm of the faith. At the same time the church authorities did not acquiesce to Báthori's insistence on the right to name the superintendent, and thereby also distanced themselves somewhat from the Nationsuniversität. Opinions on the distribution of jurisdictions had diverged since the 1550s, after the resolute promotion of the Reformation by the political body of the *natio Saxonica* and the effective collaboration between religious and secular officials. The church regarded the continuous interference of secular authority in denominational matters with growing concern. Repeated exhortations by the political leaders that clergy should be mindful of uniform teaching (for example at the synod in Mediasch in 1557), together with the expert opinions that these leaders had solicited from well-known German reformers in order to decide questions of faith and ceremony—all this did not meet with the unqualified approval of the Geistliche Universität. When, at the already mentioned election of the superintendent in 1572, the religious body ignored not only the prince's demands but also the recommendation of the Nationsuniversität, and at its synod went on to elect the pastor Lucas Unglerus as the new church leader, the center of ecclesiastical organization was shifted geographically as well, from Hermannstadt, the political capital of the *fundus regius*, to Birthälm. From here the Lutheran bishops would lead their church for the next 300 years.[65]

Nevertheless, the influence of the Transylvanian-Saxon Nationsuniversität on church matters within its jurisdiction, together with the necessary political support, remained generally assured throughout the period under study and had considerable effect on the social disciplining of the Lutheran population. Church visitations, for example, were conducted with the participation of the bishop and the magistrates, as

[65] The expectations of the Nationsuniversität for the next superintendent were as follows: He should be brought to Transylvania from abroad, "[…] an eminent, learned man, whose teaching is devoted to the Augsburg Confession, who feels a calling to bring this teaching to our land, so that God's word and the pure, unadulterated teaching shall be preserved among Germans also in the future, [teaching] of both the law and the Gospel as well as the right use of the holy sacraments." In: Teutsch, *Urkundenbuch*, 73. Cf. Gündisch, "Die 'Geistliche Universität'," 112.

stressed in the church order and evidenced in the visitation reports. The oldest surviving report, from 1550, indicates that the delegation was led by Johannes Benkner, the town magistrate of Kronstadt, who participated in the interviews of the local pastors and parish councils of the Burzenland and, when "something was found that called for punishment, having to do either with the pastor or the parish, his Honor the Judge would sometimes reprimand and admonish in a fatherly way with gentle and mild words, that they [that is, pastor and congregation] should depart from evil and turn to the good."[66] The magistrate of Hermannstadt was also involved in outlining the detailed catalogue of questions, which was then used for church visitations, such as the general visitation by bishop Christian Barth in 1650.[67]

Both the Geistliche Universität and the Nationsuniversität kept a keen eye on religious deviators and sought through concerted action to discipline or ban them, and to keep potential followers among the ranks of the *natio Saxonica* away from them. A report on the synod of 12 June 1570 shows the defensive attitude of the Transylvanian-Saxon Lutherans vis-à-vis the Antitrinitarian teachings, which were widespread at the time. When the superintendent, Matthias Hebler, asked about views deviating from the "pure, unadulterated teaching," the pastor of Reichsdorf, Matthias Glatz, was hard pressed to explain: Glatz had his sons in a school where Johann Sommer taught, a humanist from Pirna who had arrived in Kolozsvár after being banished from the

[66] Lukas Griengras's visitation report is printed in Wagner, *Quellen*, 118–121, here 119. The following questions were asked of the parishioners in Weidenbach: "Does the pastor preach the true Lutheran and apostolic teaching rightly and with fervor? Do he and his fellow servants of the Church use the solemn sacraments of our Lord Jesus Christ, baptism and Holy Communion under both species, in reverence and in keeping with the word of God? Do the pastor and servants of the church lead honorable and impeccable lives?" And the town judge Benkner's questions to the clergymen: "Do the council and the congregation listen attentively to the sermon and the word of God? Do they bring their children and relatives to church in order to hear the word of God? Are there aggravating persons [in the parish] who corrupt other good people and sully the congregation through their disrespectful and dissolute mode of life?" In: ibid.; cf. Zach, "Stände, Grundherrschaft und Konfessionalisierung," 389.

[67] The catalogue consisted of 23 questions and was used for church visitations from 1617 on. Numerous areas of religious life and social life in general were covered. In addition to questions on the observance of Lutheran teaching and the behavior of the clergy and the members of the parish, the catalogue also contains questions pertaining to schools, the care of the poor and the sick, to economic aspects, etc. See Georg Daniel Teutsch, "Eine Kirchenvisitation," *Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, n.s., 3 (1885), 1–30, here 5.

Mühlbach (Engraving by J. Poppel, after a drawing by L. Rohbock. Courtesy of the Siebenbürgisches Museum Gundelsheim)

Königsboden for his Antitrinitarian views.[68] Now Glatz had to defend himself against the charge of Arianism. He insisted that Sommer was teaching only the liberal arts in Kolozsvár and that he was not expounding on theological questions, but all the same the synod suggested that Glatz withdraw his sons from the school.[69] From the 1560s on the Nationsuniversität warned against the spread of radical Protestant teachings among its own members, and the town pastor of Kronstadt, Titus Amicinus, was forced to leave town on order of the magistrate, because he had articulated Calvinist views.[70] Accusations of crypto-Calvinism continued to be made against Translvanian-Saxon clergymen

[68] Sommer was rector of the gymnasiums at Kronstadt and Bistritz for five years before being banished.

[69] Reinerth, *Die Gründung der evangelischen Kirchen*, 300f.; Teutsch, *Die Synodalverhandlungen der evang. Landeskirche*, 118–121.

[70] Teutsch, *Urkundenbuch*, 185f.; *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt,* vol. 4, 522: "Titus preached and was pastor in Kronstadt for 10 weeks, and was then driven out, for he had not preached properly." And ibid., 56: "Nam cum ecclesiam turbaret novo Dogmata Sacramentario, quod a Beza Genevae, imbiberat, despositus a Senatu ab officio fuit, 10. Tantum septimanis Pastoratus functus." Cf. Reinerth, *Die Gründung der evangelischen Landeskirche*, 277; Szegedi, *Geschichtsbewusstsein und Gruppenidentität*, 222.

until the middle of the 17th century, among them several town pastors such as Simon Massa (Kronstadt), Johannes Oltard (Hermannstadt), and Simon Paulinus (Schässburg).

The Sacralization of State Power: Divine Princes

Toward the end of the 16th century synodal decrees of the Reformed Church called upon the princes not only to obey the laws of the Diet, punish miscreants, and defend the mother country, but also to ensure that the word of God should be spread without hindrance, further admonishing them to exemplify divine virtues in their actions. The idealization of the ruler reached its acme in the 17th century with the accession of Calvinist princes.[71] The Reformed Church glorified these figures as liberators from the tyranny of foreign domination, as defenders of God's holy citadel, and as successors to the prophets and kings of the Old Testament. Because of the geopolitical location of the region, this pan-European model of invoking biblical motives to sacralize state power attained uniquely eschatological valences in the Principality of Transylvania. Thus the first Calvinist prince, István Bocskai, appeared in the Reformed hagiography already before his accession to the throne as the Moses of the Hungarians, and his anti-Habsburg actions were seen as divinely sanctioned. Upon Bocskai's election a preacher from Kassa, Péter Alvinczi, reported a number of divine signs in the region.[72] Bocskai seized on the nimbus that had been ascribed to him and repeatedly expressed himself in this vein.[73]

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[71] Cf. Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier*, 243–249.

[72] They included unusual animal behavior, fire in the sky, and loud noises. In: Kálmán Benda, "Alvinczi Péter kassai prédikátor történeti feljegyzései [The historical notes of Péter Alvinczi, Preacher in Kaschau], 1598–1622," *Ráday Gyüjtemény Évkönyve* 1 (1955), 14.

[73] For example in a letter to Rudolf II: "In this God the Lord has acted through me; Your Majesty shall see in my present condition the execution of the secret counsel of God." Quoted from Kálmán Benda, "Absolutismus und ständischer Widerstand in Ungarn am Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts," *Südost-Forschungen* 33 (1974), 120. "God has protected me and blessed me in my actions […] as he once [took] Moses from his shepherd's life, David from his sheep, and the outcast Jefte from his hiding place and made them rulers, kings of his people." In: Gábor Szigethy (ed.), *Bocskai István testámentomi rendelése* [István Bocskai's Testamentary Directives] (Budapest, 1986), 12. Cf. Márta Fata, "Confessio Hungarica versus confessio Germanica? Die Rolle der Konfessionen in der Abgrenzung der Ethnien und der Bildung des Nationalbewusstseins am Beispiel des frühneuzeitlichen Ungarn," in Keul, *Religion, Ethnie, Nation und die Aushandlung von Identität(en)*, 147–164, here 157.

The same role was attributed to Gábor Bethlen. Time and again Reformed clergymen portrayed the prince as King David. As successor to Gábor Báthori, himself portrayed as Saul, Bethlen was seen as a divinely chosen ruler, and it was Alvinczi again who drew this parallel between Saul/David and Báthori/Bethlen in 1628, in a sermon on the occasion of the interment of Báthori's remains (20 years after his death).[74] The other side of Bethlen's deification was the demonization of his enemies, as in the case of Anna Báthori, who was charged with witchcraft after Bethlen's wife became ill. Reformed clergymen composed a flood of elegiac propaganda during Bethlen's reign (including lyrical works) that celebrated his true faith and his war on tyranny. The imagery stems mostly from the Old Testament: He fights like David against the Philistines, is compared elsewhere to Gideon and Joseph, and—with the comet of 1618 serving as sign—is portrayed as a reincarnation of King Josia, a savior of his country.[75]

On the other hand, the phenomenon in the heavens also generated unease among the ranks of the clergy, who saw in it a sign from God. A petition was prepared at the Calvinist synod of the Küküllő district in 1619 and sent to Bethlen, calling on the prince to set high moral standards, at court as well as in the entire country, for which they recommended a period of general penance. Concrete recommendations to the faithful included the assumption of a more modest lifestyle and regular fasting on Sundays. From the prince the synod demanded severe punishment of sinners—especially adulterers and blasphemers—according to the laws of God and without respect to social status, and strict monitoring of the observance of holidays.[76] Bethlen responded to the petition by introducing new articles of law that regulated moral life and public behavior. A number of prohibitions and statutory punishments were adopted directly from the text of the synod's petition. Others were added later.[77]

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[74] Péter Alvinczi, *Az néhai felséges Báthori Gábor […] testének eltakarításakor tett intések* [Admonitions Spoken During the Interment of the Body of His Highness the Deceased Gábor Báthori] (Gyulafehérvár, 1628).

[75] On this text and its authors, see Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier*, 246.

[76] Géza Illyés, "Az 1619. évi küküllővári zsinat felterjesztése Bethlen Gábor fejedelemhez [The Petition sent by the Synod of Küküllővár from 1619 to Prince Gábor Bethlen]," *Református szemle* 32 (1934), 501–505.

[77] "Articuli Bethleniani, Illustrissimi Gabrielis Bethlen, ad ecclesiam Die pertinenti," in Endre Illyés, *Egyházfegyelem a magyar református egyházban* [Church Discipline in the Hungarian Reformed Church] (Debrecen, 1941), 95f.

Social Discipline in the Reformed Church

The Presbyteries

In early modern Transylvania the Calvinists were second only to the Lutherans in their rigorous monitoring and enforcement of religious, moral, and social discipline. Restraining, regulating intervention was characteristic of early modern European Calvinism in all areas of the community members' public and private lives. In the creeds of the Scottish and Dutch Reformed churches, for example, the enforcement of religious and moral discipline in the ranks of the faithful—based on the theological connection between divine providence and human action—shared primary importance with right preaching and proper administration of the sacraments.[78] The representatives of the Reformed Church usually made no distinction between religious and social deviance, between sin and crime. All kinds of transgression, if left unpunished, were seen as potential causes of divine retribution against the entire community.[79]

The authorities responsible for social discipline varied in the Calvinist-dominated areas of Europe according to hierarchical level and region.[80] In Reformed communities across the continent a growing number of lay elders, in addition to the clergy and state officials, were taking on the responsibility for social discipline. It has been mentioned above that the introduction of consistories and presbyteries lagged in Transylvania.

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[78] Margaret Spufford, "Puritanism and Social Control?" in Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson (eds.), *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1985), 41–57; Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Calvinists and Libertines: Confession and Community in Utrecht, 1578–1620* (Oxford, 1995), 28–67. Cf. to this paragraph Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier*, 198f.

[79] Heinz Schilling, "'History of Crime' or 'History of Sin'?" in Erkki Ilmari Kouri and Tom Scott (eds.), *Politics and Society in Reformation Europe* (London, 1987), 289–310; Heinz Schilling, "Confessional Europe," in: Thomas A. Brady, Heiko A. Oberman, and James D. Tracy (eds.), *Handbook of European History, 1400–1600. Late Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation. 2: Visions, Programs and Outcomes* (Leiden, 1995), 641–681.

[80] In the Palatinate and in Hesse princely decrees played a much more important role than synodal decrees, and the primary agents of the executive came from the ranks of the central church leadership. In Zurich the magistrate had the last word in the courts, while in Geneva an autonomous consistory, comprising clergymen and members of the community, was convened in weekly meetings to make decisions regarding church administration and church discipline. The same arrangement was used in Emden and in France.

In several areas, however, local councils had jurisdiction not only in secular affairs, but also in questions of church administration and in selection and remuneration of the pastor, often in competition with parallel claims from the landowners. The comprehensive body of canonical, synodal legislation includes a decree that was adopted in Debrecen in 1567, which stipulated regular visitations for every Reformed community, and in 1649 this was specified for Transylvania: Once a year the archdeacons were to conduct a visitation in the parishes of their districts, while the archdeacons were in turn reviewed annually by the superintendent. As far as can be determined from the few preserved sources, these regimens were maintained beginning no later than the turn of the 17th century, supported by decrees of regional synods. Their focus varied among the individual districts.[81] Regional synods in the 1650s in the Partium (in Zemplén, for example) espoused the development of parish presbyters alongside existing hierarchical-clerical structures, and hoped thereby for a more effective (that is stricter, but also—with respect to some excesses by the Church—at times more tempering) application of measures to execute church discipline. Overall the princes and the heads of the Reformed church hierarchy rejected such attempts. Nonetheless, some Transylvanian communities (Făgăraş, Nagyvárad, Küküllő) were able to inaugurate presbyteries. It is moreover remarkable how, in several Szekler villages at the beginning of the 17th century, this new structure could be linked to centuries-old practices of autonomous legislation: In Berekeresztúr and the surrounding six hamlets, a joint edict of the local pastor, the archdeacon of the Maros district, the deputy ispán of Maros county, and representatives of the village community established a lay council in 1602 that consisted of persons who, in the estimation of the pastor, "had the knowledge and morality to know and judge the proper order." Re-establishing and maintaining this order was the purpose of this council. In 1624 the confirmation of fourteen presbyters during a church visitation in the same village can be taken as a sign that the arrangement was satisfac-

[81] For the eastern Tisza region there were a number of decrees intended to curb excessive behavior during church holidays. Cf. Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier*, 202f.; Gábor Rákosi, "Erdélyi református egyházközségi élet a 17. században [Reformed Community Life in Transylvania in the 17th Century]," *Magyar Protestáns Egyháztörténeti Adattár* 1 (1902), 31–49. On social disciplining in Unitarian communities see Rudolf Wolf, *Torda városi tanácsi jegyzőkönyve 1603–1678* [The Meeting Minutes of the Torda City Council] (Kolozsvár, 1993).

tory for all sides.[82] Evidence of the disciplinary efficacy of Reformed presbyteries at the local, micro-historical level may be found elsewhere in 17th-century Transylvania as well. Overall, however, the united efforts of the clergy and the secular authorities (village courts) as well as—where they existed—the presbyteries to curb such pervasive evils as cursing, inebriation, and sexual misbehavior through the establishment of new codes of behavior were crowned with only limited success.

Concluding Remarks

Having considered the diverse denominational patterns that arose in post-Reformation Transylvania we are led straight back to the question, stated at the beginning of this study, of the degree to which the confessionalization paradigm is applicable to the religious-historical, social, and political processes described here. East-Central Europe's belated entry into the purview of the research on confessionalization has the advantage that the components and instruments of the paradigm have already been refined through often intense critical debates over predominantly Western-European material to a degree that—applied now to East-Central European data—they were and are able to provide revealing insights.[83] This relates to questions regarding the impact of the denominational factor on political and social action, to the attendant questions regarding the various levels at which confessionalization in Transylvania can be analyzed, and to the categories that should be used in such an analysis.

Thus it becomes possible, within the limits of certain time spans and contexts, to take up issues that go beyond mere denomination formation and to differentiate more precisely between state-political and social contexts for confessionalization. Other analytical tools are available

[82] János Kolozsvári, "Egyházi fegyelemre, rendtartásra vonatkozó határozatok a berekeresztúri ref. egyházközségben az 1602. évben [Decrees Relating to Church Discipline and Order in the Reformed Church Community of Berekeresztúr in 1602]," *Református Szemle* 1933, 469–475. The guidelines that were adopted along with the founding of this lay council stipulated severe fines for those who worked on Sunday, and the sale of wine was prohibited in the churchyard. Attendees at the worship service who sat outside instead of inside the church during the sermon were threatened with a day in the stocks, etc. Cf. Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier*, 207. See also István Imreh, *A törvényhozó székely falu* [The Legally Autonomous Szekler Village] (Bucharest, 1983), 99–120, 279–285.

[83] Cf. to this paragraph Müller, "Diskussionsbilanz," 413–418.

here as well, such as the opposition between intended and unintended consequences, but also the differentiation among the direct, indirect, and long-term effects of the confessionalizing impulses. To illustrate, without revisiting the matter in detail: One intended and immediate effect of the acceptance by the Transylvanian Saxons of the Wittenberg version of the Reformation imposed by the secular authorities was to reinforce the Saxons' difference as against the other *nationes.* Over the long term this contributed to the equation of Protestantism and Germanness in Transylvania. An example of an unintended, long-term effect would be the forced introduction of the Romanian-language worship service by the Reformed church authorities as a catalyst in the nation-building process of the Transylvanian Romanians. A further characteristic of Transylvanian confessionalization processes is specific to East-Central Europe insofar as, here, despite extensive commonalities among the structures of the estates in the corporative statal formations[84] of the individual sub-regions, different patterns of confessionalization may be observed, based in no small part on the respective pre-Reformation experiences of the denominational actors, both individual and institutional. Here as well the Transylvanian Romanians' ecclesiastical development offers an obvious example, paired with their lack of political representation in the Principality's legislative assemblies. A confessionalizing impulse proceeding from their own corporative representation (as, for example, was the case of the *natio Saxonica*) did not occur for Transylvania's Romanians. There was no close collaboration between political representatives of a *natio Valahica* (because this corporative estate did not exist) and the church leaders of a confident, hierarchically well-developed post-Reformation Transylvanian-Romanian Eastern Church (also not extant in this form). Instead there were missionary offensives by the Protestant churches (Lutheran as well as Calvinist), supported by the *nationes*, and these had generally meager success. On the other hand, the Transylvanian Hungarian nobility, both as corporative estate and based on the prerogatives of its ownership of the land (*ius reformandi*), attempted at least occasionally to intervene, thus becoming an actor in the confessionalization process. Starting from this last observation, it may be possible—in certain areas of Transylvania and with due reservations—to speak of the rudiments of a "nobles'," or "purple confessionalization," even if it was lastingly successful for

[84] See the contributions in Bahlcke, *Ständefreiheit und Staatsgestaltung.*

hardly a single landlord.[85] Further, the various levels and segments of confessionalization in persistently multi-denominational Transylvania include, with some qualifications, the "'auto-confessionalization' of rural and town parishes," which is quite evident in all of East-Central Europe.[86] An impressive example of this is the eventful religious history of Kolozsvár, in the course of which several "self-confessionalizing impulses" occurred, which were sometimes at odds with the religious and political reasoning prevalent in the rest of the country.[87]

Although in the case of Transylvania (and other regions of East-Central Europe) it seems to make little sense to speak of an "integrated confessionalism," still the confessionalization model, in its refined, flexible form, remains useful for comprehending the stages of political, juridical, and religious differentiation in Transylvania, too, as long as the model is applied within a clearly delineated contextual framework. After this journey through more than 150 years of Transylvanian religious history, "contextual confessionalization" appears to be apt indeed as a non-normative way to characterize the sectoral overlapping of religious, political, and social processes of differentiation that are observable here, and at the same time a step toward assuring the continuation of the confessionalization model over the long term.

[85] Cf. Zach, "Stände, Grundherrschaft und Konfessionalisierung in Siebenbürgen," 391.

[86] Müller, "Diskussionsbilanz," 415–416.

[87] Here we should recall, for example, the Antitrinitarian Transylvanian Saxons of Kolozsvár, who were situated politically and juridically outside the *natio Saxonica*.

APPENDIX

Transylvania's Rulers During the Time of the Principality[1]

János I Szapolyai (*rex electus*)	1526–1540
János II Zsigmond Szapolyai (*rex electus* up to 1570)	1540/59–1571
(György Martinuzzi, vicegerent	1541–1551)
(Izabella, regent	1556–1559)
István Báthori	1571–1586
Zsigmond Báthori	1588–1598
Maria Christierna	1598
Zsigmond Báthori	1598–1599
András Báthori	1599
Mihai Viteazul	1599–1600
Zsigmond Báthori	1601–1602
Mózes Székely	1603
István Bocskai	1604–1606
Zsigmond Rákóczi	1607–1608
Gábor Báthori	1608–1613
Gábor Bethlen	1613–1629
Katharina v. Brandenburg	1629–1630
István Bethlen	1630
György I Rákóczi	1630–1648
György II Rákóczi	1648–1660
Ferenc Rhédey	1657–1658
Acațiu Barcsai	1658–1660
János Kemény	1661
Mihály I Apafi	1661–1690
Mihály II Apafi	1681, 1690–1691
Imre Thököly	1690–1691, 1699

[1] Cf. Harald Roth (ed.), *Siebenbürgen* (Stuttgart, 2003), 231, 235.

Church Leaders[2]

Catholic Church

Transylvanian See	
Ferenc II Várdai	1514–1524
János II Gosztonyi	1524–1527
János III Statileus	1528–1542
Miklós Gerendi (counter-bishop named by Ferdinand I)	1528–1540
Ferenc III Székely (administrator)	1551–1553
Pál III Bornemisza	1553–1556
Demeter III Náprágyi (with interruptions)	1598–1604
Titular bishops, non-resident, without papal acknowledgement	1618–1712
Vicars, partly resident	1618–1712

Orthodox Church

Orthodox Hierarchs at Different Places	
Marcu (Feleac)	prior to 1516
Danciu (Ştefan?) (Feleac)	c. 1516–1534
Petru (Feleac)	c. 1538–c. 1550
Ioan de Prislop	c. 1553–1557
Cristofor (Geoagiu de Sus)	1557–c. 1559
Sava (Geoagiu de Sus)	1559
Gheorghe (Geoagiu de Sus?)	c. 1561/62
Sava (Geoagiu de Sus)	1562-before 1570

Orthodox Metropolitans (in Gyulafehérvár/Alba Iulia)	
Eftimie	1571–1574
Cristofor	1574–1579

[2] Cf. ibid., 240–254 for a complete list of church hierarchs, including the Catholic sees of Csanád and Nagyvárad, and the Orthodox see of Vad; cf. also György Jakubinyi, *Romániai katolikus, erdélyi protestáns és izraeli vallási archontológia* [Romanian Catholic, Transylvanian Protestant and Jewish Religious Archontology] (Gyulafehérvár, 1998); Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria bisericii ortodoxe române* [History of the Romanian Orthodox Church], vol. 3 (Bucharest, 1994), 2d ed.

Ghenadie	1579–1585
Ioan	1585–1605
Teoctist	1606–1622
Dosoftei	1623–1627
Ghenadie	1627–1640
Ilie Iorest	1640–1643
Simion Ștefan	1643–1656
Sava Brancovici	1656–1680
Iosif Budai	1680–1682
Ioasaf	1682–1683
Sava	1684–1685
Varlaam	1685–1692

Lutheran Church

Paul Wiener	1553–1554
Mathias Hebler	1556–1571
Lucas Unglerus (Ungleich)	1572–1600
Mathias Schiffbaumer	1601–1611
Johann Budaker	1611–1613
Zacharias Weyrauch	1614–1621
Franz Graffius	1621–1627
Georg Theilesius	1627–1646
Christian Barth	1647–1652
Lukas Hermann I	1652–1666
Paul Zekelius	1666
Stefan Adami	1666–1679
Bartholomäus Baussner	1679–1682
Christian Haas	1682–1686
Michael Pancratius	1686–1690
Lukas Hermann II	1691–1707

Calvinist (Reformed) Church

Ferenc Dávid (Franz Davidis/Hertel)	1564–1566/1570
Sándor Tordai	1570–1579
Máté Göcsi	1579–1585
Máté Toronyai	1586–1599
János Ungvári	1599–1601

Balázs Kecskeméti	1601–1603
Mihály Tasnádi Ruber	1603–1618
János Keserűi Dajka	1618–1633
Istvan Geleji Katona	1633–1649
György Csulai	1650–1660
Gáspár Veresmarti	1660–1668
Péter Kovásznai	1668–1673
Gáspár Tiszabecsi Nagy	1673–1679
Mihály Dobos	1679–1684
István Horti	1684–1689
István Veszprémi	1690–1713

Unitarian Church

Ferenc Dávid	1568–1579
Demeter Hunyadi	1579–1592
György Enyedi	1592–1597
János Kósa	1597–1601
Máté Torockai	1601–1616
Bálint Radecki	1616–1632
Pál Csanádi	1632–1636
Dániel Béke	1636–1661
János Járai	1661
Boldizsár Koncz	1663–1684
Dániel Szentiványi Márkos	1684–1689
Pál Bölöni Bedő	1689–1690
Mihály Nagy	1691–1692

Concordance of Place and Region Names

Most of the former Principality of Transylvania lies in present-day Romania and the official Romanian names of the localities and regions are generally used to designate them in English. However, adopting a practice that is common the field, we use the Hungarian or German name for a town or region to reflect the language and culture that was predominant in it during the period in question (with few exceptions). Hence the following list.

Hungarian	*German*	*Romanian*
Barcaság	Burzenland	Ţara Bârsei
Berethalom	Birthälm	Biertan
Beszterce	Bistritz	Bistriţa
Botfalva	Brenndorf	Bod
Brassó	Kronstadt	Braşov
Csanád	Tschanad	Cenad
Dés	Burglos/Desch	Dej
Déva	Diemrich	Deva
Enyed	Strassburg am Mieresch	Aiud
Fehéregyháza	Weisskirch	Albeşti
Fogaras	Fogarasch	Făgăraş
Földvár	Marienburg	Feldioara
Gyulafehérvár	Weissenburg	Alba Iulia
Harina	Mönchsdorf	Herina
Hátszeg	Hatzeg	Haţeg
Karánsebes	Karansebesch	Caransebeş
Kerc	Kerz	Cârţa
Kisdisznód	Michelsberg	Cisnădioara
Kolozsmonostor	Appesdorf	Cluj-Mănăştur
Kolozsvár	Klausenburg	Cluj(-Napoca)
Küküllővár	Kokelburg	Cetatea de Baltă
Marosvécs	Wetsch	Brâncoveneşti
Lippa	Lippa	Lipova
Lugos	Lugosch	Lugoj
Máramaros	Maramuresch	Maramureş
Marosvásárhely	Neumarkt am Mieresch	Târgu Mureş
Medgyes	Mediasch	Mediaş
Nagydisznód	Heltau	Cisnădie
Nagytalmács	Talmesch	Tălmaciu
Nagyvárad	Grosswardein	Oradea
Prázsmár	Tartlau	Prejmer
Rozsnyó	Rosenau	Râşnov
Segesvár	Schässburg	Sighişoara
Szászhermány	Honigberg	Hărman
Szászrégen	Sächsisch-Regen	Reghin
Szászsebes	Mühlbach	Sebeş
Szászváros	Broos	Orăştie
Szeben	Hermannstadt	Sibiu

Szerdahely	Reussmarkt	Miercurea Sibiului
Székelyudvarhely	Oderhellen	Odorheiu Secuiesc
Torda	Thorenburg	Turda
Törcsvár	Törzburg	Bran
Vajdahunyad	Eisenmarkt	Hunedoara

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